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AN
AMICABLE DISCUSSION
 ON THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND
 AND ON
THE REFORMATION
IN GENERAL,

DEDICATED TO THE
CLERGY OF EVERY PROTESTANT COMMUNION,

AND REDUCED INTO THE FORM OF LETTERS,

BY THE RIGHT REV. J. F. M. TREVERN, D. D.
 Bishop of St. Albans (late of Aire.)

BY THE REV. W. RICHMOND.

‘Tunc demum vos Spiritum sanctum agnoscite, quando
 mentem vestram, per unitatem, unitati conse-
 ti hærere. *1 Cor. XII. 13. Scilicet XXI. de instan-*

*very important
 ation raised no
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MAR 23 1959

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

The Discussion Amicale, a translation of which is now respectfully presented to the public, was first published in 1817,—a second edition appeared in 1824. The more than ordinary excellency of this controversial work has never been disputed either by friend or foe; and its substantial merit, original style and manner, and peculiar applicability to the English nation have for some years caused numerous highly respectable individuals to wish that it might appear in our own language. Latterly this wish has become more emphatically expressed, in consequence of the appearance of the Difficulties of Romanism, a work written by the great champion of Protestantism, the Rev. G. S. Faber, of Long-Newton, professing to be a fair exposure and complete refutation of the Discussion Amicale. As this book of Difficulties seemed calculated to give a very illusory idea of the general character of the volumes it attacked; as it evidently suppressed some of the most powerful arguments therein contained, and mutilated or distorted others: as it undeniably gave, in some instances, a most grossly false translation of very important passages, and on this false interpretation raised no small proportion of its arguments; it was thought very desirable that the Bishop of Strasbourg's original work should be fairly and strictly rendered into English, and thus appear in its own defence, that the purely English reader might be enabled to form a more correct estimate of its character and merits. The translator here begs leave to state, that he has followed his author throughout with timorous scrupulosity, perhaps with servility; and

that, if he has erred, he has done so involuntarily, his only object in undertaking his arduous task having been to aid the cause of truth, justice, and Religion.

Within the last month has been published the Bishop of Strasbourg's Answer to the Difficulties of Romanism, translated by the Rev. F. C. Husenbeth of Cossey. In this Answer, as well as in Mr. Faber's Book, frequent reference is made to the French Discussion Amicale. For the convenience of the readers of either work, who may not possess the original French, the following tables of references are subjoined, to show the correspondent references in the present translation.

DEDICATORY EPISTLE.

TO THE

Clergy of every Protestant Communion.

GENTLEMEN,—

IN complying with the demand that is made for the publication of a Discussion undertaken and conducted in the secrecy of confidence, I cannot but be desirous of addressing it immediately to you. Indeed it seems to me most reasonable and just to present it, in the first instance, to those members of the Reformed Communions, who, while they are more particularly interested in becoming acquainted with its contents, are also, by their superior attainments, better qualified to decide upon its merits. Now therefore it shall go forth to the world, with the hopes that it may find access to its most desired destination. May it speedily appear before you, to undergo its first examination and receive its first judgment at your tribunal. Whilst I bespeak your indulgence for the defects and imperfections you will discover in the style and manner of the work, I am bold to defy your most rigid and unsparing scrutiny as to its matter and substance. This may look to you like presumption: but assuredly it is not so: for never were quoted with more feeling conviction those words of the apostle—‘Not that we are sufficient to think any thing of ourselves, as of ourselves; but our sufficiency is from God.’ (2 Cor. III. 5.) I feel the full force of this passage: it penetrates to my heart: it alone inspires me with courage and confidence.

If, Gentlemen, you would take the trouble to study the character of your first Reformers, as depicted mutually by themselves, you would join with us in no longer considering them as men raised up by God to repair the ruins of his Church: if you were shocked equally with myself at the enormity of their schism and the frivolous pretexts

alleged in its excuse, your zeal and utmost energies would be called into immediate exertion to effect its termination: if you were convinced equally with myself that the doctrines retrenched by them were the doctrines of antiquity, you could no longer be induced to believe that the suppression of such articles has tended to approximate you to the primitive Church; you would rather unite with me in attributing their mistaken conduct to the ignorance of the age in which they lived. Pay only a little attention to the proofs presented in this discussion on that head: weigh them as candidly as they have been collected: peruse them as they have been written, with calm composure of mind and in the presence of God. I look for this favour from all you, who respect religion and tender your salvation. But as for those, who, blinded by prejudice, and ignorance, and hurried away by their passions, run eagerly in pursuit of the enjoyments of this life, and are reckless of the world to come, from them it is in vain to expect a hearing. For such I do not write, but pray.

Gentlemen, you are well aware that highly distinguished individuals belonging to your body, have, from the Reformation down to our times, unceasingly proclaimed to the world that *the points at issue between you and us are but slight abuses introduced into the Church*; (a) that it would be most easy to put an end to all disputes; (b) that if, on the one hand, there exists an indispensable necessity for all Christians to become again united; it is certain, on the other, that Protestants will never accomplish this union among themselves, unless by becoming previously re-united to the See of Rome; (c) that there is no dogma, essential to salvation, but what is taught by the Church of Rome; nor any propounded by her which are incompatible with salvation; (d) and that, according to the judgment of all well informed theologians, the distance between you and us is not so great as is generally imagined. (e) Seeing that your own teachers have thus publicly professed these sentiments and numerous others of similar tendency, permit me to ask, what are you doing by thus prolonging a schism, which, according to the opinion of these impartial and enlightened individuals, ought never to have been begun; according to their convictions and wishes

(a) *Confession of Augsburg*, art. XXI.—(b) Melancthon's Letter to Francis I.—(c) Grotius, *last Reply to Rivet*.—Thorndike, *On Forbearance*. p. 33.—(d) Thorndike, *Epist.* p. 146.—(e) Declaration of the University of Helmstadt; 1707.

should have ceased as quickly as possible: and which in their opinion there would be but little difficulty in destroying? What, I ask, are you doing by thus prolonging the schism? You are rendering yourselves accomplices of the greatest evil that Christians can effect: of an evil which has not indeed originated with you, but which receives the support of your ministry. By you, and as far as in you lies, it is held together and perpetuated; you hold the people attached to it by your example; and generations are enchained to it by your talents—nay, even by your virtues. You defeat (and perhaps, Gentlemen, you may have never seriously reflected on this awful point) you defeat, I say, the views of our Divine Legislator, whose desire was to establish unity in his Church: you rob him of the most striking and most generally palpable proof of his divine mission; the proof to which he himself has referred us in the unanimity of his followers.(a) By the substitution of divisions and discords in the place of union and unanimity, your ancestors, and you, who continue the work, have thrown confusion and dismay into the minds of the weak and superficial. They no longer know which way to turn, or what communion to prefer. Some of them you have led into indifference, and others into positive incredulity. Hence the crimes that deluge the world, to which you and we can equally bear testimony. These your first reformers clearly foresaw—they announced them at a distance, almost as soon as they had established those principles, from which they saw them inevitably derived upon future generations.

Destroy the schism—and you will eradicate the evil, you will arrest its progress and instantaneously diminish its frightful ravages. Destroy the schism—and you will accomplish the wish of the most religious and enlightened persons of the reformation; they who had hitherto regarded one another as strangers, would thenceforth act as friends, and, like brethren meeting after a long separation, would prevent each other with the kindly salutations of brotherly affection. Then would beam forth once more the joy and glory of the Church, indebted to you for the renewal of her pristine universality. The sixteenth century beheld your forefathers leave her bosom and curse it; the nineteenth would behold their descendants, flocking from all sides to their too long abandoned mother, who now can no longer remember the pangs and the miseries occasioned by their separation, for joy of their return to her embraces. How admirable a specta-

(a) St. John, Ch. XVII. v. 21-23. See the second letter.

cle! to behold so many learned and zealous ecclesiastics, hitherto at variance with themselves and with us, now spontaneously retracing their steps to the fold of unity! What a striking lesson would such an event read to an age obstinately deaf to every other! What a triumph for the religion of our Saviour! Then would the splendour of his divinity become irresistible; the indifferent and incredulous would come in crowds, and, prostrate at his feet, acknowledge and renounce their ignorance and blind stupidity. The upright and fervent Christian, who is serious in the affair of his salvation and a fervent adorer of Jesus Christ, of whatever country, or religious communion must certainly feel his heart burn within him at the idea of so glorious a prospect, and pant with impatient anxiety to co-operate in its accomplishment.

Here is another visionary scheme, it will be said; another attempt at what is impracticable. Impracticable indeed! What! talk of impracticability, when we are under the most absolute necessity of effecting its realization! And why impracticable, when by the re-union there is every thing to be gained in the next world and nothing to be lost in this? Whence shall the insurmountable obstacles arise? Surely, Gentlemen, not from yourselves—You who are more alive to the obligation, and who can fully appreciate the advantages of unity, would, I am confident be disposed generously to make a sacrifice of transient advantages, if such sacrifice were called for. But, so far as I can anticipate, this re-union, far from costing you sacrifices, would bring you even temporal advantages. I will suppose that you were left for a time in your present offices; even so, you would exercise them on a more eminent theatre: the esteem and consideration, which you now enjoy, would acquire by the fact additional lustre and would appear in bolder relief. But numberless titles and dignities suppressed by the Reformation would again bloom forth: to these you would be called by the voice of the Church, who would naturally be inclined to give this preference to the children so happily recovered: and if honors and preferments should prove to be insufficient for her eagerness to invest you with them, our prelates would not be backward in imitating the example of their ancient predecessors, by quitting their episcopal chairs and pressing you to take their places.

I am equally unable to foresee insurmountable obstacles on the part of the government. I am aware that the privileges, claimed in former times for the sovereign por-

tiff over the temporal powers of kings, have, not unfrequently, given just cause of jealousy to the reigning powers. But these pretensions to temporal dominion have on no occasion been generally asserted or recognised by Catholics; they are abandoned even there, where they first appeared: they are vanished—and to fear them at this time of the day, would really be to tremble at a phantom. 'Tis true, we acknowledge a primacy of honor and jurisdiction, which distinguishes the successor of Peter from the successor of the rest of the apostles, and constitutes his see, the centre of all other sees. But this hierarchical and spiritual order, absolutely distinct in its object from all earthly governments, and on that account applicable to them all, far from producing mischief to them, can only tend to serve their cause and increase their stability. Let it once be adopted, and immediately shall all religious sects—the too prolific sources of jealousies and quarrels among subjects, and of troubles, agitations and discord in empires—universally disappear; and to unity of spiritual government shall succeed the union of families, peace both in cities and country, and that invaluable concord of sentiment and affection which will always produce additional ease, compactness and energy in the civil administrations of an empire.

It must be from the people then that we are to expect this invincible opposition. I know with what tenacity they adhere to notions imbibed in their infancy. I know how deeply are imprinted on their minds the notions hostile to Catholics, which have been for so long a period inculcated into them. I will not dissemble how much it would cost you to remove such prejudices, to change their sentiments and gently lead their hearts to a reconciliation. Unfortunately there are but too many obstacles and difficulties discernible in this affair. But wherefore dwell upon obstacles, or indulge in a useless enumeration of difficulties? The important enquiry is, whether or not it be necessary to encounter and surmount them. If schism be compatible with salvation, well and good: matters may rest as they are; and we must save ourselves, each, as he can, in his respective religion. But, Gentlemen, you are well aware that this is by no means the case. The will of the Sovereign Master on this subject is well known to you; his orders you have distinctly heard; there is no room for mistake, no excuse for obstinate incredulity. He would have neither sect nor schism in his Church: these as you allow, fall under his malediction, and must therefore be removed. You know it to be his will and command

that unity should exist among all his followers ; let those, then, who would be his, go over to unity. He recognises but one extensive fold for the whole of his flock ; in this fold let those congregate who would be reckoned in the number of his sheep.

This necessity once acknowledged, as it actually is by us all, what remains to be done, but to make straight for our object, and pursue the road we have taken, without indulging in foolish apprehensions of difficulties or stopping at every obstacle that may seem to oppose our progress? I do not however believe them to be so formidable as would appear to be imagined. Instruct the people in a different style and as truth would dictate ; represent the Catholics, not as they have been too often portrayed, but as they really are ; explain our creed, not as it is ordinarily expounded, but as we explain it ourselves ; and rest assured, the people will relish your instructions, speedily will they recover from their prejudices and become attached to the truths you develope ; their ardour will be increased by the sense of sorrow they will experience at the discovery of their former misconceptions. If you desire certain proof of this, experience supplies it. How many Protestants of both sexes, of every rank and state of life, have we not seen, since the Reformation, undertake the examination of the Catholic faith, and conclude by embracing it? I could produce numerous recent examples, within my own knowledge, that have occurred in the different countries I have traversed. Never were conversions more frequent than at present : never was a greater disposition discoverable among Protestants to enter into Catholic unity. Perhaps the very excesses of the age may account for this : the disgust and horror excited by them in the minds of the upright and reflecting naturally induce them to seek consolation and repose in the bosom of the ancient Church. (a) Let us give our encourage-

(a) Since the first edition of this work, there has appeared the *Entretiens* of the learned Lutheran minister, Baron de Stark ; more recently still the famous manuscript of the immortal Leibnitz has been brought to light. To these may be added the *Votum pro pace*, the work of the incomparable Grotius, as he is called by Leibnitz ; the acknowledgments of the great English doctors, who are cited throughout this work ; and the *Reflections* recently presented to the English public upon the necessity of a return to unity, by the Rev. Samuel Wix, Vicar of St. Bartholomew the Less, London.

Such authorities as these ought certainly to have great weight

ment to these happy dispositions. Let us endeavour to render general and to bring about an entire reconciliation. To us, as ministers of God, whether Catholics or not Catholics, to whatever country, communion or government we may belong, to us is the lofty enterprise especially delegated. A crew of impious and infuriated monsters [shall we yield to the wicked in zeal?] have conspired in our days against Christ and his altars: let us re-unite to consolidate and extend their dominion. Let us consign to oblivion our ancient feuds, and with them the injuries and insults given and received: let us cast all these miseries at the foot of the cross and join with one voice in recalling the Christian world to unity, ever bearing in mind the rigorous and indispensable precept of our divine Saviour on this subject, as also his prayer, hitherto so imperfectly understood by too many Christians:

‘That they also may be ONE; in order that the world may believe that thou hast sent me.’ S. John, ch. XVII. v. 21. 23.

TREVERN,

Former Vicar General of Langres, now Bishop of Aire.

(lately translated to the See of Strasbourg)

with the whole body of the Protestant Clergy: and, coming from the mouth of ministers, they would produce an amazing effect upon the minds of their congregations. I seriously put the question, whether there is an individual, no matter of what Protestant communion, if the truth and his salvation be dear to him, who can, without trembling, still harden himself against dogmas received as true, by the first geniuses of the Reformation. I would gladly be informed with what conscience they can at the present day refuse to surrender themselves to the appeal of the most learned men of their own party, and continue any longer obstinately to uphold divisions among the people, that are fatal to all happiness here and hereafter.

I conjure Protestants to read frequently the *Votum pro pace* of Grotius, and the *Systema Theologicum* of Leibnitz, Published in Latin and French at Paris, 1819.



AN

AMICABLE DISCUSSION.

LETTER I.

A Short Account of the first establishment of the Church of England.

SIR,

I AM very sensible of the confidence you are pleased to testify in my regard, by communicating to me the doubts that have arisen in your mind respecting your Church, together with your eager desire to discover the true Church, and by requesting my assistance in this important enquiry. I shall reply to you with whatever zeal is at my command : on that score, you shall have all that you can desire, though you will discover, no doubt, much to be desired in point of information and talent. My solicitude and my exertions are at the command of any one, who may do me the honor to call for them ; my state of life renders this a duty, and the grateful recollection of numberless favours bestowed upon me in former times by many of your countrymen, converts it into a pleasure, in your particular regard. In this undertaking, I fear no trouble, beyond that which it may occasion yourself. Controversial discussions are ill suited to the taste of the times, and all their interest is lost

in consequence of the indifferency that prevails under the plausible name of *liberality*. As you have been unaccustomed to such subjects, and may naturally be alarmed at entering upon them, I would willingly spare you a laborious discussion, and indeed am of opinion that a simple narrative of the manner in which your Church has been established, will of itself suffice to convince you that you can no longer remain in it with safety. An historian^a whose acknowledged celebrity is unfortunately surpassed by his unfaithfulness, has asserted that the history of the English Reformation was its apology. Had he asserted the opposite to this, he would, in my opinion, have been much nearer the truth. Of this you will be enabled to judge by the following brief narrative, in which I shall not contradict him in facts, but shall merely have recourse to authorities, which he himself would have admitted.

Eighteen years had elapsed since the marriage, which Henry VIII. had contracted, according to the dispensation granted in 1509, by Julius II. with the widow of Arthur, his elder brother, Catharine of Arragon, daughter of Ferdinand, King of Spain. By her he had many children, of whom the Princess Mary was alone surviving. In 1521, appeared at the court of Catharine the famous Anne Boleyn. She was in her twenty-first year, and was just returned from France, where she had spent seven years in the presence of two successive Queens, and the Duchess of Alençon, sister of Francis the First. Youth, beauty and the graces set off her person, and inspired the Monarch with that fatal passion, which a few years later drove Catharine from the throne, put Anne in her place, for a time, then sent her to the scaffold, and involved England in a schism, that continues to this day.

As soon as it was known at Rome that Cranmer, the successor of Warham to the see of Canterbury, had taken upon himself to annul the marriage of Catharine in order to facilitate that of the King with Anne of Boleyn, the consistory, on the 24th of March, 1533, gave a decision, by which they confirmed the validity of Henry's first marriage with Catharine, commanded the

^a Burnet.

Prince to live with her, and, in case of refusal, pronounced against him a sentence of excommunication. On hearing this, the enraged Monarch determined on breaking with the see of Rome and withdrawing himself and his dominions from the jurisdiction of St. Peter, whose authority and rights he himself had so stoutly defended against Luther. Already were the people prepared to expect a change; sundry menaces had been sent to the sovereign Pontiff, and many blows had been struck at his jurisdiction. In fine, the Parliament meeting again in November, 1534, seizes hold of the jurisdiction of the Church and invests the crown with it, by an act, that decorates the King with the pompous title of the temporal and spiritual head of the Church of England. The King is eager to have his new jurisdiction acknowledged in the kingdom: he has a form of oath drawn up to which the bishops and clergy are obliged to subscribe; whoever refuses, or pretends to raise his voice in favour of the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, is punished with death. Cromwell, Henry's vicar-general, delegated by him to exercise his supremacy, runs over the different dioceses, suspends during his diocesan visits the jurisdiction of those bishops, who carry their cowardly compliance so far as to receive letters-patent, by which they acknowledge the Prince as the source and origin of all jurisdiction, themselves only exercising a precarious jurisdiction, subject to the good pleasure of the Sovereign.^a The remainder of this reign was marked by the frequent exercise of spiritual jurisdiction, by the suppression of abbeys and monasteries, by various arbitrary dismemberments of dioceses, by erections of new sees, whose incumbents were consecrated and confirmed by letters-patent from the King. While, however, the supreme ruler was maintaining the schism with the utmost severity, he repelled heresy with equal rigour, and at the same time that he was punishing Catholics, who still dared to declare themselves for the chair of Peter, he condemned to the flames the disciples of Luther and Calvin, who were busy enough to dogmatize in his

^a We must except Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, who courageously maintained his faith, and lost his head on the scaffold.

states. But it was not difficult to foresee, that the schism would one day open the door to heresy; and that, unity being once destroyed, innovations held in esteem upon the continent, would finally appear and gain ground in England.

Scarcely had Henry closed his eyes, when the Duke of Somerset took upon him the guardianship of his nephew, Edward VI. and the administration of the kingdom, at the head of the council of regency, under the name of Protector. He was a Zuinglian in heart, and had for his confidant, Archbishop Cranmer, who, no longer having reason to dissemble, soon threw off the mask, and openly entered into the views of the Regent. The Archbishop hoped to get his marriage into credit, which hitherto he had been obliged to keep concealed. The Protector looked for the spoils of the Church—many others wished to share them with him—nothing but the reformation could serve them all to their satisfaction: it was therefore determined upon. The Duke of Somerset commences by proclaiming his nephew supreme head in spirituals and temporals: he then obliges the Bishops to receive commissions revocable at the will of the King, names commissaries to perform the visitation of the dioceses, and in the mean time suspends the exercise of all episcopal authority: he announces by an edict that a collection of articles of faith is preparing in the council; that it will appear before long, and that they are to hold themselves in readiness to receive it with submission: and in the mean time he forbids any ecclesiastic to preach in any assembly whatsoever. Already had Peter Martyr and Ochino his companion been called to labour in the work of reformation. Both of these were Italian religious, who like the greater part of the reformers, had quitted the monastic state to embrace that of marriage. The announced work at length appeared. It took away from public worship its ancient forms, and from ceremonies their majesty. Confession, works of satisfaction, purgatory, prayers for the dead, the invocation of saints, the honor paid to images, relics, and the cross were abolished: the ritual, the liturgy, the mass with its sacrifice, the real presence with transubstantiation, all are

swept away, and England is astonished to behold itself on a sudden become Calvinistic.

But by this time heaven appeared to be wearied with so many sacrileges. It removed from the world this youthful sovereign, whose weakness was so shamefully abused.^a Mary, his eldest sister, brought to the throne the Catholic sentiments, with which her mother, the virtuous Catharine, had constantly inspired her—aided by the ministers with whom she was surrounded, and above all by the wise counsels of Cardinal Pole, her kinsman, she succeeded in bringing back her people to the obedience of the Holy See. The parliament had itself solicited the reconciliation, which was pronounced by Cardinal Pole, nuncio of Julius III. The affairs of the Church were adjusted between the legate and parliament with as much prudence as moderation.^b On their return to unity, they resumed the dogmas and liturgy, which had always been received in this great island from its conversion to Christianity to the young Edward. England, although troubled with the innovations and the outrages of the last reign, appeared generally to applaud itself for its return to Catholicity—and probably would have done so, much more, had not God, whose judgments are inscrutable, refused posterity to Mary, and deprived her, after a short reign, of her crown and her life.

She was replaced^c by her natural sister, Elizabeth, who was indebted for the crown to the last will of Henry rather than to her birth, for she was born in the lifetime of Catharine, his Queen and lawful wife; and even the marriage of Anne her mother had been declared null, a little before her tragic end, by a solemn sentence of Archbishop Cranmer. It is said, that Elizabeth, convinced of the illegitimacy of her rank, ascended the throne with trembling step, and that being fearful of exciting dangerous commotions, she hesitated about the re-establishment of the Reformation, towards which, however, she had a secret inclination. Her ministers determined her to it, by representing to her that there would be no security for her in union with the Church of Rome, which in its public documents had condemned

^a 1553. ^b 1554. ^c 1558.

her birth. "She was well aware," says Heylin,^a "that her condition of legitimate daughter and the primacy of the Pope could not subsist together." The rupture was then deliberately resolved upon: all that remained, was to prepare the public mind for it. The ministers took upon themselves to dispose the people for the projected changes, and conducted themselves in the business with consummate address. The Parliament was convoked as early as the following December. In the House of Lords a law was proposed, which abolished that of Mary, gave to Elizabeth the title of supreme governess in all things spiritual and temporal, with all the rights exercised by Edward and Henry, authorized her to execute her ecclesiastical jurisdiction by commissaries, and, to maintain her supremacy, obliged the bishops and their clergy to take an oath, the formulary of which was subjoined to the law. The first reading of this bill caused consternation and dismay among the bishops, who then were sitting in the upper house. In vain did the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Chester, in the name of all the others, oppose their eloquence to the project of the law. It was carried, and but little attention was paid to their objections. It met with more opposition in the Commons. But ultimately the court party prevailed. Thus the ecclesiastical authority was taken away from the Holy See and the clergy of England, the entire spiritual jurisdiction attached to the crown, and schism erected into a law of the kingdom.

Elizabeth, after the prorogation of her parliament, enters upon her new functions and proceeds gradually to work. She summons all the Bishops into her presence, impatiently listens to all their representations, then dismisses them, saying, "that from henceforth she shall regard as the enemy of God and the Crown, whoever shall dare to support the pretensions of the Bishop of Rome." After this she sends forth into the dioceses her commissaries, who upon the refusal of the Bishops to take the appointed oath, declare them to be deprived of their office. They are all, with the exception of the Bishop of Landaff, driven from their sees. They are afterwards replaced by priests attached to government and

^a History of the Reformation.

to the new principles. Parker being nominated to the see of Canterbury, was consecrated and confirmed, according to letters-patent from the Queen, by some bishops of Edward VI. but who, being canonically deposed since the reign of Mary, had remained without jurisdiction. Parker, in his turn, consecrated the first, who were nominated after him : in this manner, all the sees were filled in 1562, and then it was, that the new prelates agreed together upon a declaration of faith, which they drew up in thirty-nine articles and which received afterwards the sanction of the parliament and the Queen.

A new order of things now appears in England. Schism, for the second time, is about to be solemnly proclaimed. The nation is to be separated from the rest of Christianity, and is from henceforth to form a separate and independent Church, isolated from the whole world, like the territory in which it is enclosed. But by what right ? By what authority ? Such is the will of her, who aspires to become supreme governess in the Church.

By this time, the convocation of the clergy, having taking alarm at the projects of the court, had done its utmost to prevent them, had declared in five articles the apostolic belief upon the dogmas that were said to be the most threatened ; the two universities had loudly joined their voices with the chamber of the inferior clergy upon the four first articles ; the bishops had entirely adopted them, and of their own authority, as well as in compliance with the wishes of the priests, had transmitted them to Lord Bacon, the keeper of the seals ^a : but the declaration of the clergy stops none of these preconcerted measures ; the declaration of the spiritual guides, of the bishop, the judges of doctrines, is put aside and despised ; and by whom ? by her, whom they pretend to give to the successors of the apostles as supreme governess.

From the cabinet these projects are carried into the Parliament : on the first reading, the whole bench of bishops rise in opposition. In vain do they object before the peers ; in vain do they instruct their flocks, out of the house, that the oath of supremacy wounds faith

^a Fuller's History, on the Synod of 1559.

and the sacred principles of the government of the Church : they are not heard ; they are stript of their jurisdiction, and driven from their Churches : and by whom ? by the supreme governess.

New subjects are named to fill their places.—But how shall this nomination be confirmed, since the right to do it belongs exclusively to the Pope ? By whom shall be changed and overthrown that order of things, which for centuries had been established for the communication of power in the Church ? by the supreme governess.

She pretends to throw the discipline back to the times when the metropolitans were consecrated and confirmed by the bishops of the province : but this ancient discipline, being abolished by the Church, could be re-established only by it : but, according to the ancient discipline, the patriarch ordained and confirmed his metropolitans himself in person, or by the bishops of the province, his delegates ; for so had it been regulated by the council of Nice, can. 4. and by other councils afterwards, as Dr. Field and bishop Bramhall, to cite no others, confess : but on default of the patriarch of the west, neither the vice-president of Canterbury during the vacancy of the see, nor Bonner, bishop, of London, nor Heath, metropolitan of the north, could be induced to lend their ministry to so manifest a violation of rule in the affair of Parker ; but these four consecrators, in open revolt against the Church, were without episcopal authority, Hodskins having never been more than a suffragan, suppressed and never re-established, and the other suffragans created by Henry VIII, Scory, Barlow, Coverdale, having been canonically deposed under the preceding reign, for cases of marriage ; the two latter in contravention to their monastic vows. But supposing them to be possessed of diocesan jurisdiction, still they could not of themselves extend it to a metropolitan and primatical see : but no matter, these irregularities, these defects, these nullities, are superseded in a moment : and by whom, pray ? still by the same female and by her letters-patent : by her, who from henceforth, with the diadem on her head and the pastoral crook in her hand, speaks and commands obedience

through her new spiritual lords, as their supreme government.^a

But whence did she derive this absolute power to undertake such unheard of attempts and to produce so total a revolution? From her House of Lords and Commons? Well then! let her parliament produce to the world the charter it has received from Jesus Christ: let it prove to us that Christ confided the government of his Church to the powers of the earth. But for our parts, we know, that he has confined it solely to the apostles and their successors. Thus, this parliament, although absolute and all-powerful in what relates to this world, was evidently without right and without power in the concerns of the Church; it therefore could transmit no spiritual jurisdiction to Elizabeth—Elizabeth could not therefore take it away from those who occupied their sees before she mounted her throne, she could not, therefore, transfer any from them to her intruded bishops, nor could they to their successors. Without right to destroy, repair, or rebuild, her attempts are null from the first. Her innovations all rest upon a false foundation, and the whole structure of the reformation sinks of itself, and is buried in the hollowness of its own system.^b

^a *Femineo et a seculis inaudito fastu se papissam et caput Ecclesie fecit. Mart. Chemnitius in Epist. ad elect. Brandenburg.*

^b "An Act was passed, by a lay parliament, requiring of the prelates to take the oath, under pain of being expelled from their sees. At the expiration of the time appointed for taking the oath, the fathers who refused it, found themselves driven from their palaces and deprived of their revenues and of all the honors and privileges of their episcopal dignity. So far we make no complaint. . . . Let the secular power take back, if it please, the favours it has bestowed upon the Church: we are content. It will injure the temporalities of the bishops; but will leave uninjured the consciences of the subjects. For Jesus Christ has imposed no obligation on the subjects of defending against the magistrates the civil rights and immunities of the bishops, but most assuredly does he require of us to defend the rights that he has himself conferred upon his Church for its preservation, in spite of secular power, even during persecution; rights that no human power ever gave or can ever take away.—Yet our adversaries have carried their violence so far as to wrest them from it. Our most reverend fathers are driven from their flocks

There is no need of further discussion—the cause has been tried: the case is determined. The radical and essential defect of competency strikes with absolute nullity whatever was done by Elizabeth at that time. You may, if it so please you, call her work a parliamentary or Royal Church, ever bearing in mind, that it is a human and not a divine establishment.^a He, therefore, who would belong to the Church of Christ, cannot remain in a Church of the above description. He must go back to the preceding reign, and enter into Catholic unity, in which from the establishment of Christianity in Great Britain to the twentieth year of Henry VIII. your ancestors, more fortunate than their descendants, had constantly the happiness of living and dying.

“and from the care of souls; altars are raised against altars; bishops of an opposite party take the places of our own bishops: their Churches are occupied, and they are still living; their sees are succeeded to, before they are vacant, before the predecessors had left them or had been deprived of their spiritual jurisdiction by a sentence of bishops, to whom alone belongs the right of passing it, and even before they had been displaced by any authority whose decision would be ratified in Heaven, for fear, it would seem, lest God might acknowledge, as legitimate bishops, those, whom the violence of human power had driven from their sees. From these considerations, we concluded, that our ties of dependence, uniting us to our bishops, remained as close and binding as ever, that we still were bound, in conscience, to pay them the same deference and submission as before, and that we could not, without crime, transfer them to intruders, who had thus destroyed Catholic unity, and virtually renounced Christ himself and all his graces.”

Dodwell was very just in his ideas of the independence of the episcopal jurisdiction. In the principles, which he maintained in 1689, and which he would have had quite other reasons for defending, a century earlier, you read the condemnation of the proceedings of 1559; drawn out, unconsciously as it were, by one of the first divines of the University of Oxford.—*H. Dodwell, de Nupero Schismate Anglicano. Sec. 3, pag. 4, 5. London, 1704.*

^a Humanam conantur Ecclesiam facere.—*S. Cypr. Epist. LII. ad Ant.*

LETTER II.

On Unity.

SIR,

I YIELD to your solicitation, and since you require it, I will discuss, successively, the different articles upon which we differ ; and in the first place, with your permission, I shall commence by casting together with you, a general glance upon the spectacle that religion presents in your country. Long did I witness it with sorrow ; a thousand times did I groan in spirit, whilst residing amongst you ; and now, in my state of separation from you, I am still equally afflicted with dismay and pity, so often as I consider, what you were, and what you are.

From the establishment of Christianity in your country, to the period, when, for the first time, mention was made of a reformation, your happy ancestors had known but one faith, one altar, and one religion. Bound from without to all the Churches of the world, they were within themselves strictly united together : they resorted to the same temples, and assembled around the same altars. Under the direction of the same pastors, they heard the same doctrine and participated in the same sacraments. They all were brethren, all members of the same body of Jesus Christ. The name of a dissenter was not so much as known amongst them. The sweetness of harmony, and the peace of uniformity reigned in families, in cities, in districts, in the whole empire. At the voice of the reformation every thing changed its appearance. What do we behold from the time of Elizabeth ? She had flattered herself, in the pride of her wisdom, and from the grand conceptions of her ministers, that by separating her subjects from the catholic world, she should mould them into her reformation, and invariably bend them to her law, and that her spiritual supremacy would become as extensive as her temporal domi-

nion. And behold! in spite of all her efforts, she could not draw to her belief the inhabitants of a single county, no, not of a single town or village. Her reformation has ever produced new succeeding sects, and affords no glimpse of hope that it will ever reach the term of its lamentable fecundity. From it have already sprung the presbyterians, the independents, the puritans, the soci-nians, the quakers, the anabaptists, the moravian brethren, the new-jerusalemites, the latitudinarians, the swarms of methodists, &c. Whilst the civil law admirably maintains its dominion over all your people without distinction, preserves peace and order throughout society, the evangelical law is abandoned to systems, to opinions, nay, even to the fanaticism of any individual who chooses to erect himself into an expounder and preacher of the gospel, and who possesses talent enough to gain a hearing and procure an audience. Every where, altar is raised against altar; every where, by the side of the established Church are to be found rival Churches, dissenting chapels, temples strangers to one another, domestic meetings, where, at the same hours, worship is celebrated with different forms and ceremonies, the gospel explained in different ways, and doctrine expounded in different and contrary senses. In fine, since the thorough change produced by Elizabeth, religion, in your country, presents a confused medley of every sect and every form of worship; a perfect chaos of doctrines, in which each one plunges and tosses, dogmatizing and declaiming as fancy or feeling directs. Men no longer know, whom to listen to, what to believe, or what to do.

All that we have to do, is to ask ourselves, whether our divine legislator came to give his Church different forms and appearances, to be subject to variation according to the caprice, or taste of men: to give to his doctrine and dogmas various and opposite significations: or rather, whether he has not assigned to his Church a fixed constitution, and to his words an appropriate meaning. Whether he has not imprinted on the system of his revelation, whether taken collectively or in detail, that character of simplicity and unity, which is so remarkable in all the works of God, and which constitutes their excellence and beauty, *omnis pulchritudinis forma uni-*

tas. We are now arrived at a question so decisively important, that I feel myself bound to spend some time in developing the proofs, that, in my opinion, demonstrate the necessity of acknowledging and preserving unity in government and faith. I shall in the first place, consult reason; for it will teach us that the dogma of unity is so conformable with, and so analogous to the spirit of revelation, as to appear inseparably connected with its establishment. I shall then open the scriptures, and they will shew us the precept delivered by Jesus Christ to his apostles, in the clearest, the most forcible, and the most peremptory terms: and, in conclusion, I shall interrogate the illustrious ages of the Church, ages so justly revered by protestants for purity of doctrine, and they will inform us that unity is the life and soul of Christianity, as schism is poison and death to it.

I. Reason of itself can sufficiently conceive that unity must attach to the plan and spirit of our revelation. In fact, what was the condition of the world with respect to it at the coming of our Saviour? You need not be informed. If you except the people who preserved the deposit of the sacred truths, all the others, being delivered up to the corruption of their hearts and the darkness of their understanding, had lost sight of their Creator. Incapable of comprehending how one single being could preside over all, they had filled the world with imaginary Gods, produced the most fantastical forms of worship, at one time offering their incense and their prayers to the planets that roll over our heads, at another prostituting them to the productions that spring under our feet, to the vilest animals and the most shameful passions: and in this multitude of temples that covered the earth, the God who created them had not one single altar, unless the one, which Athens had erected to the *unknown God*.

Such was the deplorable condition of human nature, when there appeared in Judea an extraordinary personage, distinguished from other men by a character peculiar to himself, incomparable and divine: announcing to the Jews, that the time fixed for the abrogation of their ceremonial law was arrived, and to the nations, that they

were all called to the knowledge of the true God. From the time, that he came down from heaven to introduce among mankind a system of doctrine, reason could no longer admit that he could be indifferent to the various ways, in which this his system would be understood, or that the most opposite interpretations could be equally agreeable to him. It could not admit that it should enter into the spirit and economy of his mission, to replace the multiplied idolatrous societies and superstitious worship, by a variety of separate sects, of incoherent and opposite communions ; it could not admit that it was his will there should prevail in his Church, almost as general a confusion of ideas, as prevailed under the empire of blinded reason, and that there should be no better understanding amongst us in the bosom of the true religion, than there was in paganism. Where there exists an opposition of dogmas and a contrariety of opinions, there necessarily is error : and it would be absurd to suppose God indiscriminately favourable to falsehood and truth. Reason, on the contrary, tells us, that the God of all truth, in communicating himself to man, could reveal but one doctrine, and establish but one spiritual government, it being a fact that a difference in government produces more or less a difference in doctrine.

Reason tells us, he must have been desirous that his dogmas and precepts, whatever they were, should be adopted just as he had taught them ; that nothing should be added to, or taken from them ; that men should never presume to give them a signification different from that, which he himself had assigned them. It tells us in fine, that he came to display to the world the light of his revelation, to substitute a uniformity of belief in place of a variety of superstitions, to unite from north to south, from east to west, in one single association, under the yoke of the same doctrine and the same spiritual government, so many nations widely differing from each other in interests, customs, climates, prejudices and language : a design too grand for any mortal legislator whatsoever,

but which well became him, who was entitled to the homage of the universe.*

One of your own divines^b has spoken well on this subject: "Nor is the importance of Unity," says he, "much less in these latter days of Christianity, for as much as all divisions in all times destroy that beauty and loveliness, which would otherwise attract all men's admiration and affection. It is not the sublimity of Christian doctrine, nor the gloriousness of the hopes it propounds, that will so recommend it to the opinion and esteem of beholders, as when it shall be said. *Ecce ut Christiani amant*, when they shall observe the love, concord, and unanimity amongst the professors of it. And the want of this hardens the hearts of *Jews*, and *Turks*, and *Pagans* more against it, than all the reasons and proofs we can give for it, will soften them, and instead of opening their ears and hearts to entertain it, open their mouths in contempt and blasphemy against it." On the contrary, the proofs of christianity would easily enter into the heart by the most moving and irresistible of all proofs, the perfect union of Christians among themselves. Where, in fact, are we to look for the cause of this unanimity? How are we to account for this union of mind and heart among the innumerable faithful, strangers to one another in language, customs, climate, and government? No human institution could ever have effected so great a prodigy; Jews, Turks,

* "Hear, O ye innumerable nations, all ye men endowed with reason, whether Greeks or Barbarians! I call to me all the human race, of which I am the Creator, by the will of the Father. Come to me, and be subjected and united to God alone and to his only Word." Thus does Clement of Alexandria represent Jesus Christ, as speaking in his admonition to the gentiles. And, in another place, the same father says again: "At his circumcision he received the name of *Jesus*, which signifies *salvation of the people*. . . . And truly he then became the salvation of the people; not of one but of many; yea of all nations, and of the whole earth" *Homil. in occ. Domini. inter diversas*.

^b Dr. Goodman in his work entitled, "A Serious and Compassionate Inquiry into the Causes of the present Neglect and Contempt of the Protestant Religion and the Church of England." Pages 106, 107.—Part 2nd, Chap. 2nd, 3d Edition, London 1675.

idolaters, all would have felt its force ; all would have acknowledged and adored a supernatural and divine operation. We may then reasonably conclude, that if men's passions had not revolted against the yoke of authority ; if restless spirits had not been borne away with the mania of dogmatizing, and subtilizing upon mysteries ; if ambitious hypocrites and proud sectarians had not divided brethren, torn the Church and miserably dragged entire nations after them into schism and error, the plan of our divine legislator would have been gloriously accomplished, infidelity would have disappeared, all nations would have been brought over to the Christian religion : from every part of the globe the same prayers would be offered up to our only and adorable mediator, the world would be at the foot of the cross, and heaven-born unity would reign undisturbed throughout the world

II. Reason has sufficiently proved that it is not merely expedient, but necessary, that the economy of Christian revelation be inseparable from the most absolute unity. We will, therefore, proceed a step further, and pass on to facts. Is it true that Jesus Christ was really desirous that unity should prevail in his Church and in his doctrine ? Are we certain that he actually taught it as an essential dogma of his law ? Let us open the archives that contain it, and first call to mind a principle on which protestants and catholics are agreed : The principle is, that every one ought to believe and admit what is clearly expressed in the Holy Scripture. Now therefore, let us see whether the dogma of the unity of the Church, both in its government and its faith, is found to be taught with that degree of clearness, which requires our assent, which commands and bears away our submission and our belief.

He, who would understand the plan that our divine legislator proposed to himself in coming down upon earth, should collect with care whatever the evangelists tell us concerning it in the different circumstances of his life. These different passages collected together and compared with each other, will prove to demonstration the correctness of the views, that unassisted reason has already taken of the subject. Our Saviour himself shall

now open his thoughts and reveal to us that the end of his preaching and of his death, were 1st, to call to himself all the nations of the earth; 2dly, to unite them all together in one body, in the same doctrine and sentiments.

1st, Saint Matthew relates that, being struck with the humility of the centurion and with the faith that animated his petition, our Lord turned towards those who were following him, and said to them; Amen, I say to you, I “have not found so great faith in Israel: and I say to you, that many shall come from the east and the west, “and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and “Jacob in the kingdom of heaven.”^a On mount Olivet, after having foretold the destruction of Jerusalem, and before he announced that of the world, he said to his disciples; “And this gospel of the kingdom shall be “preached in the whole world, for a testimony to all “nations and then shall the consummation come.”^b We will, moreover, adduce the words uttered by him in the house of Simon during his repast with Lazarus, after he had raised him from the grave. Mary came with great piety to pour precious ointment on his feet: and Judas having censured this affectionate tribute of respect and tenderness as an act of prodigality, Jesus vouchsafes to justify it and adds: “Amen, I say to you, wheresoever “this gospel shall be preached *in the whole world*, that “also which she hath done, shall be told for a memory “of her.”^c Who does not discover in these as well as in the foregoing words, the intention of the legislator that his law should be announced to the world and that all the nations of the earth should be called unto it?

So far, he had satisfied himself with insinuating it on certain occasions; it was reserved for a latter period to point it out more expressly. After his resurrection it was that he opened himself to his apostles upon the subject, when he declared to them the greatness and the extent of the ministry he laid upon them. “Going,” said he to them, “teach *all nations*. teaching “them to observe all things whatsoever I have com-

^a Ch. VIII. v. 11.

^b Saint Matthew, ch. XXIV. v. 14.—^c Mat. ch. XXVI. v. 13.—

“manded you.”^a And at his last appearance, when on the point of returning to heaven, he again commands his apostles to execute his intentions: he addresses them with these words, the last that have ever been heard from his divine mouth: “You shall receive the power “of the Holy Ghost coming upon you, and you shall be “witnesses unto me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and “Samaria; and even to the uttermost parts of the “earth.”^b Here then, are all nations, all people, both those who then inhabited this globe, and those who were to inhabit it to the end of time, marked out for the apostolic ministry, and from thenceforth invited and called to Jesus Christ. 2dly, But what then would he do? Listen, while he informs you: “Other sheep I have that are not of this fold.” This he said after having spoken of those, who already were following him, and evidently referring to those who had not, up to that time, heard his voice, that is to say, to all the nations of the world, to whom he ordered it should afterwards be carried: “Other sheep I have, that are not of this fold,” (the Gentiles, strangers at that time to the fold, into which the Jews alone had hitherto entered) “them also I must “bring, and they shall hear my voice, and there shall “be one fold and one shepherd.”^c We here see the unity of the Church, distinctly represented under the figure of one only fold, which contains one only flock, confided to the care of one only shepherd or pastor. But who is this single pastor? Jesus Christ was the pastor on earth, and no doubt he continues to be eminently so in heaven; but, in order that, after his ascension, the entire flock might always preserve a pastor at its head, it was necessary that Jesus Christ should substitute a visible shepherd to the end of time, and, in fact, we learn again from St. John, that at the moment of his ascending to his Father, in the presence of his disciples, Jesus Christ confided to Peter and his successors the administration and government of all who were his, and with a view to make this great prerogative better understood by all and in contestably recognized in the prince of the apostles, he was pleased to confer it upon him by a com-

^a St. Mat. ch. XXVIII. v. 19.

^b Acts, chap. I. v. 8.—^c St. John, chap. X. v. 16.

mission given thrice in succession: "Feed my lambs, feed my lambs, feed my sheep."^a You see there is no exception: it is the whole flock, all the sheep who were one day to hear his voice and be united in one and the same fold: the whole of the faithful, therefore, are confided to the guardianship of one pastor, to the care of Peter, and after him to his successors.

Previously to this, Jesus Christ had announced the same pre-eminence to the same apostle under another figure, and always by shewing that he had but one Church in view, as he was desirous that all his sheep should be collected into one fold: and this above all it behoves us to remark: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."^b I beg you to observe these words: he speaks but of one only Church, therefore he did not wish to establish several; there cannot therefore have been several founded by him, but only one for the world, and upon one and the same stone, one only foundation. Ah! how should he ever endure division and parties in his Church, who has left us the axiom that, "every kingdom divided against itself shall be made desolate; and every city or house divided against itself shall not stand."^c

We see, moreover, his system of unity traced out most clearly by St. John.^d At the report of the resurrection of Lazarus, the chief priests and the pharisees take alarm and assemble in council. "What shall we do," say they, "for this man doth many miracles? If we let him alone so, all will believe in him and the Romans will come and take away our place and nation." But one of them, named Caiphas, the high-priest of that year, said to them: "You know nothing, neither do you consider that it is expedient for you that one man should die for the people and that the whole nation perish not." Take notice of the reflection, which the beloved disciple of our Master subjoins. "And this he spoke not of himself; but being the high-priest of that year, he prophesied that Jesus should die for

^a Id. ch. XXI. v. 15.—^b St. Mar. XIV. v. 18.—^c Id. ch. XII. v. 25.

^d Ch. XI. v. 4.

“the nation; and not only for the nation, but to gather together in *one* the children of God that were dispersed.” Such then was the plan of our Saviour and the object of his death: by paying his blood as the ransom for all men, he died to gather together into one flock, to unite in one body all the children of God, spread over the face of the globe, both those who then were living or who afterwards would live upon the great continents, and those who inhabited or would inhabit the islands scattered on the seas.* Your ancestors in fact were called in their turn to the body of Jesus Christ: they belonged to it for ages, and would have continued still to belong to it, if they had not been unfortunately cut off from it by the mortal blow of the reformation, which manifestly has destroyed, between you and us, that system of unity which our Saviour purposed to cement by his blood.

Have you ever reflected upon what our Saviour said when he told those that were his by what sign they should be recognized in all places for his disciples? He does not wish that men should know them, by the austerities of their fasts and abstinences, as was the case with the followers of the Baptist; or by the vain distinction of their dress or a minute application to external and bodily observances; still less by the infatuation of certain philosophic systems, like the adepts of the Portico or the Academy. What then was to be the distinctive mark of his disciples? “By this shall all men know that you are my disciples, if you have love one for another.”† And as we cannot recognize the true disciples of a God, without wishing to increase their number, all who would have seen them would have joined them in crowds; the irresistible charm of fraternal charity would have successively drawn whole people, and would gradually and quietly have subjected the whole world to Jesus Christ.

Now the principle of a universal and charitable affec-

* Saint John inculcates the same doctrine in these words (Epistle I. Ch. II. v. 2.) “And he is the propitiation for our sins: and not for ours only, but also for those of the whole world.”

† St. John XIII. v. 35.

tion most certainly exists in unity, as that of a reciprocal estrangement is found in schism and separation. As long as we belong to the same Church and the same faith, we form but one great family, we feel a sympathy and a love for one another as brethren. But should, unfortunately, a separation take place; mutual complaints, accusations, and irritations ensue. Thenceforth we become strangers, and too often enemies to each other. Unity alone, therefore, can bind and attach nations together, and enters, of necessity, into the distinctive and characteristic mark, which Jesus Christ assigns to his disciples, the cause being essentially inseparable from its effect.

But there still remains something more wonderful and striking. You are now to hear our divine Master praying that unity may dwell among us all, with words that should touch the heart of any one who glories in being one of his, and undoubtedly should be sufficient to call to his Church all those that have had the misfortune to be born out of it. Let us read over again the beautiful prayer, which, a little before he delivered himself up to the power of his enemies, he addressed to his Father in these words: "Holy Father, keep them in thy name, whom thou hast given me, that they may be one, as we also are one."* So far he prays for his apostles; hear now his prayer for all Christians in after ages: "And not for them only do I pray, but for them also, who through their word shall believe in me; that they all may be one, as thou, Father, in me, and I in thee: that they also may be one in us; that the world may believe that thou hast sent me. And the glory, which thou hast given to me, I have given to them: that they may be one as we also are one. I in them and thou in me: that they may be made perfect in one; and the world may know that thou hast sent me, and hast loved them as thou hast also loved me."

Our Saviour here entreats his Father that his apostles, and then that those who were one day to believe in their word, as well as in the word of those who should suc-

*St. John, chap. XVII. This prayer fills the whole chapter, I only cite those words that are to the point.

ceed them in the ministry, that consequently all the faithful who should exist from the preaching of the gospel to the consummation of the world, should continue strictly united to one another; and that the voluntary union of their souls should become an image of the natural and essential unity that exists between Him and his Father. He repeats his earnest petition, that we may be among ourselves and in him as inseparably united as he himself is with his Father, and that if we cannot equal the divine unity of the Father and the Son, we may at least produce some resemblance of it here upon earth by the unanimity of our sentiments and the union of our hearts. Such, therefore, was the will of our heavenly Master, such the object of his prayer and of his death, that we may remain inseparably attached to one another, by all the bonds of peace, concord, and charity, in the same Church, the same faith, with one heart and mind. There was to be no such thing as a rupture, or a separate government in religion, no division, no schism: but it was to be all harmony, love, and absolute and perfect unity. And why all this? Jesus Christ himself tells us, and the more to arrest our attention, inculcates the reason of it two separate times. "That the world," says he, "may know that thou hast sent me: that the world may know that thou hast sent me." And observe how this admirable prayer, after commencing with the apostles, then turning to those who should be converted at their word, is extended even to unbelievers, and thus embraces all mankind. It is then true, according to the word of our Master, that the perfect union of all his disciples was to present to the world a striking proof of the divinity of his mission, and that the beautiful and ravishing spectacle of fraternal charity was to attract unbelievers and accelerate by their union the propagation of the faith. ^a Can there be for one, who glo-

^a "The progress of religion is retarded, because all Christians do not propound the same doctrines. The Jews and Pagans and the unbelievers of our days say, that we are not to be believed, because we differ in opinion among ourselves."—*St. Clem. Alex.* ch. VII. Strom. No. 8.

"How can your religion be the true one, since you white men

ries in the name of a Christian, a more pressing inducement to cherish and preserve unity, to return to it, to abet, and promote it? Is there any order more imperative than a desire and a request so feelingly expressed by Jesus Christ, a wish so ardently conveyed in our behalf to his Father? And since he assures us that he trusts to unity for the success and the glory of his mission; let us see whether, with all our zeal, we concur to its accomplishment? What then have all those been doing, who have since sown divisions among the brethren? what have Photius and Cerularius done at Constantino-ple; Luther, in Germany; Calvin, in France; and Elizabeth in your own country? They have taken away from Jesus Christ one of the proofs of the divinity of his mission, even that which he so ardently desired to establish for the world, when he was about to leave it. They have set themselves in opposition to his designs and his express wish. they have combated and annihilated it, as far as lay in their power. He prayed, "Let them be one, that the world may know that thou hast sent me;" and they said, by their actions at least, "let them not be one, that the world may not know that Jesus Christ was sent by his Father." God forbid, however, that I should attribute to their conduct an intention which could never be discovered except in hearts at declared enmity with Jesus Christ! Undoubtedly they never would have preached up or commanded the schism, if they had thoroughly comprehended its enormity.* Blinded by passions and human interests, car-

"do not all profess the same? Agree among yourselves upon this point, and then we will attend to you." Extract of a speech addressed, in the name of five nations, by a chief of the savages, near Boston, to a missionary, of what sect it is not known, who had gone for the purpose of exhorting them to embrace the Christian religion.---See this speech in the Philadelphia Gazette, Nov. 1817.

* "When sects in religion are numerous they are the cause of atheism."---*Bacon*.

"The dissensions that prevail among the multiplied sects, that are come forth from the schools of Luther and Calvin, have been unfortunately but too favourable to the birth and progress of incredulity."---*Dr. Kett's Consid. on the Prophecies*.

in order that we might feel the obligation of keeping ourselves more interested in its preservation.

Without fatiguing you any more with my argumentation, I will hastily and without much premeditation throw before you the various passages that the New Testament presents us on this subject. "And in fine, be you all of one mind being lovers of the brotherhood." ^a "Take heed to yourselves," said St. Paul to the re-united clergy of Miletus and Ephesus, "and to the whole flock wherein the Holy Ghost hath placed you bishops, to rule the Church of God which he hath purchased with his blood. I know that after my departure ravenous wolves will enter in among you, not sparing the flock. And of your own selves shall arise men speaking perverse things to draw away disciples after them." ^b You see that the congregations of christians spread in different places, compose but one church, which Jesus Christ purchased with his blood. You shall now see the same doctrine in the epistle to the Romans, in which St. Paul inculcates first the unity of the body, and then that of doctrine. "So we being many are one body in Christ. ^c Being of one mind, one towards another." ^d . . . Now the God of patience and of comfort grant to you to be of one mind one towards another, according to Jesus Christ; that with one mind and one mouth you may glorify God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. ^e Now I beseech you, brethren, to mark them, who make dissensions and offences contrary to the doctrine, which you have learned and to avoid them. ^f Now I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord, Jesus Christ, that you all speak the same thing and that there be no schisms amongst you; but that you be perfect in the same mind, and in the same judgment. For it hath been signified unto me that there are contentions among you. Is Christ divided? " ^g Alas! how often would he have had in after times to re-

^a I. Ep. of St. Peter ch. III. v. 8.—^b Acts ch. XX. v. 28, 29, 30

^c Romans XII. v. 5.—^d Ibid. v. 16.—^e Ibid. ch. XV. v. 5.—^f Ibid. ch. XVI. v. 17.—^g Cor. Ep. I. ch. I. v. 10.

peat this question. And why has it not always been better understood? "God is not the God of dissension, "but of peace, as also I teach in all the churches of the "saints." ^a And as all the apostles taught with St. Paul, because their doctrine was every where the same, and because upon this article St. Jude expressly tells us so. We must not omit the 12th chapter of the same Epistle, which should be quoted almost entire. "In one "spirit were we all baptized into one body, whether "Jews or Gentiles, whether bond or free; and in one "spirit we have all been made to drink. For the body "also is not one member but many:—Now you are the "body of Christ, and members of member. ^b For "the rest, my brethren, rejoice, be perfect, take exhortation, be of one mind, have peace; and the God of "peace and of love shall be with you. ^c Now the works of "the flesh are manifest, which are fornication, uncleanness, enmities, contentions, quarrels, dissensions, sects. Of the which I foretell you as I have "foretold you that they who do such things shall not obtain the kingdom of heaven." ^d I leave you to your reflections upon this awful oracle.

Hear how the apostle addresses you as formerly he addressed the Ephesians. "But now in Christ Jesus, "you who sometime were afar off, are made nigh, by the "blood of Christ. Now therefore you are no more "strangers and foreigners; but you are fellow citizens "with the saints, and the domestics of God, built upon "the foundations of the apostles and prophets, Jesus "Christ himself being the chief corner stone; in whom "all the building, being framed together, groweth up "into a holy temple in the Lord. In whom you also are "built together into a habitation of God in the Spirit." ^e Thus all the inhabitants of the earth, both those who had been blessed with hearing our Saviour, and those whom his gospel was one day to reach, should they even be at the extremities of the globe, like your ancestors in their celebrated island, all nations have been called to compose *one only Church*, to become by their concord and

^a Ib. ch. XIV. v. 33.

^b Cor. Ep. I. ch. XII, v. 13, 14, 27. ^c II Cor. ch. XIII. v. 11;

^d Galatians, ch IV. v. 19, 20, 21. ^e Ch. II. v. 20.

union, so many component parts of the grand and majestic edifice, which he came to erect for the world. For ages after, your ancestors were its ornament—why must they go out from it to shut themselves up in a temple of modern construction, built apart and separate, by a royal, it is true, but a human and perishable power, whereas the ancient temple having Jesus Christ for its foundation and its architect, is a divine and immortal structure! Without doubt, the most fatal misfortune, after that of withdrawing from it, is the not returning to it again.

“I therefore, a prisoner in the Lord, beseech you
 “that you walk worthy of the vocation in which you are
 “called, with all humility and mildness..... careful to
 “preserve the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.
 “One body and one spirit; as you are called in one
 “hope of your calling. One Lord, one faith, one bap-
 “tism—one God and Father of all.”^a Here is unity
 evidently presented in every shape and point of view, in
 government as well as in faith, in the body of the Church
 as well as in the profession of doctrine. The govern-
 ments of the earth may vary according to the will of na-
 tions and the vicissitudes of life; but the government of
 the Church founded by Jesus Christ, and purchased by
 his blood, must needs be one, as are its hopes, its bap-
 tism, its Lord, and its God. “Only let your conversa-
 “tion be worthy of the gospel of Christ; that whether I
 “come and see you, or being absent may hear of you,
 “that you stand fast in one spirit, with one mind, la-
 “bouring together for the faith of the gospel:”^b And
 not fighting against one another, and tearing one another
 to pieces, as the sectaries have at all times exhorted
 their followers, and unfortunately have too well succeeded.
 “Fulfil ye my joy, that you be of one mind having the
 “same charity, being of one accord, agreeing in senti-
 “ment. Let nothing be done through contention, nei-
 “ther by vain-glory^c Nevertheless whereunto we
 “are come, that we be of the same mind, let us also con-
 “tinue in the same rule.”^d And let the peace of
 “Christ rejoice in your hearts, wherein also you are

^a Ephes. ch. IV. v. 1.

^b Philip, Ch. I. v. 27.—^c Ibid. ch. II. v. 2.—^d Ib. ch. III. v. 16.



“called in one body.”..... But avoid foolish questions,..... and contentions, and strivings about the law. A man that is a heretic after the first and second admonition avoid, knowing that he that is such a one is subverted and sinneth, being condemned by his own judgment.^b Be not led away with various and strange doctrines.”^c Thus did the indefatigable apostle of nations preach to the world. He still lives, breathes, and speaks in his epistles; his preaching, beginning with the Church, will pass on with it to the end of time. He never ceased, nor does he yet cease to recall to unity that crowd of societies gone astray for so many ages, to whom, nevertheless, is due the glory of having preserved Christianity in Africa, and carried it to the extremities of Asia, I mean the Nestorians and Eutychians; he still calls upon the numerous people of the Greek Church, so nearly resembling our own; and our brethren, the Lutherans, Calvinists, and English, separated in more modern times; he exhorts them, he conjures them all in a body, and you, Sir, in particular, who have just seen and read his words. He again speaks to you and to all, in words to the following effect:—“Heretics or schismatics, slaves or free, to whatever climate or nation you belong, you have all been baptized to be one body and one Church. Return then to it, from which a secession was never lawful; enter her bosom which your ancestors unfortunately left from motives, which you can no longer avow, and upon pretexts, the fallacy of which are at the present day so well known to every enlightened and impartial mind. Fulfil our joy: let us live together with perfect understanding and reciprocal love, having but one heart and one mind, and then the peace of Jesus Christ, to which we have all been called, as members of one body, will reign in our hearts.”

5^o It cannot be doubted that the primitive Christians must have had much more lively ideas of unity than those that we recollect from the New Testament, since

^d Coloss. ch. III. v. 15.—^e Titus, ch. III. v. 9.—^f Heb. ch. XIII. v. 9.

they had it as well as we in their hands, and moreover possessed the additional advantage of having heard this doctrine developed by the apostles in their discourses and daily conversations. The first bishops were formed in the school of their inspired masters, and received consecration at their hands. This immediate institution has gained them from posterity the honourable title of apostolic. There is good reason for supposing that they composed many works: unfortunately but few have come down to us.^a

The most ancient are the epistles of Saint Clement, who is called by the fathers, sometimes apostolic, sometimes apostle, sometimes almost apostle. He, as well as Titus and Timothy had accompanied St. Paul in his travels: he followed him to Rome, of which he was bishop, having succeeded Saint Peter, after Linus and Cletus. We will now consider the circumstances in which he wrote his first epistle: A warm dispute had just arisen in Corinth, something similar to what happened in the time of St. Paul. A party had been formed against certain priests of irreproachable character, and had been audacious enough to think of deposing them. Fortunatus immediately leaves Corinth, arrives at Rome with information of the disturbance. Clement was then in the chair of Peter. He wrote to the Corinthians that admirable epistle, which for a long time was read in the oriental churches together with the canonical scriptures. He begins by lamenting over, "*that impious and detestable division,*" (these are his words) "*which has just appeared among them.*" He recalls them "to their former piety, to the time when, full of humility and submission, they were as incapable of inflicting an injury as of resenting it. Then (adds he), every kind of schism was an abomination in your eyes." He concludes by telling them that he is in haste to send Fortunatus back to them, "to whom (says he), we join four deputies: Send them back as speedily as possible in peace, that we may be quickly informed of the return of union and peace among you, for which we pray without ceasing: and that we may be enabled to re-

^a Tradition of the first ages.

“joice at the re-establishment of good order amongst our brethren at Corinth.” How sacred must unity have been considered in this happy age, when at the first appearance of division, the ancient fellow-labourer of Saint Paul, the venerable Fortunatus, to stop its progress, exposes himself to the dangers of a long voyage and betakes himself to Rome to solicit the successor of St. Peter to interpose his authority. What would this apostolic Pontiff have said of the great defections of the East, of Germany, and England, since, on the first rumour of a dispute arising in a small portion of the flock in a single town, he immediately takes alarm, treats this disturbance as an impious and detestable vision and nothing less than an abominable schism, and employs the authority of his see and his paternal solicitations to bring back the Corinthians to peace and concord?

Ignatius, the disciple of St. Peter and St. John, being transported from Antioch, of which he was the third bishop, to Rome, where he was expecting the crown of martyrdom, under Trajan, in 107, in his passage by Smyrna, saw Polycarp, who kissed his chains: he visited, on his journey, many other churches, and wrote to them seven epistles, which are the most precious monuments of the faith and discipline of the primitive church. His epistle to the christians of Smyrna commences as follows: “I give thanks to Jesus Christ our God, for
 “that he hath filled you with so great wisdom: for I
 “know that you are fully persuaded that being
 “the son of God he was truly born of a virgin,
 “by the will and the power of the Father, that he
 “was truly crucified for us in his own flesh, under Pon-
 “tius Pilate and Herod the tetrarch: that with his blood
 “he has produced us as the fruits of his divine and bless-
 “ed passion: and that, by his resurrection, he has
 “raised to the end of ages, the standard of the cross for
 “the saints and faithful, both Jews and Gentiles, that
 “we may be all united in the body of his Church.”

He afterwards proceeds: “Avoid schisms and dis-
 “cords, which are the source of all evils. Follow your

* Observe, I pray, this early recourse to the chair of Peter in the first ages.

“bishop, as Jesus Christ his Father, and the college of
 “priests as the apostles. Let no one presume to under-
 “take any thing in the Church, without the bishop.”—
 And yet a female in your country, was bold enough to
 dirve all the bishops from their sees, in order the more
 easily to accomplish her new plan of a Church!—In his
 letter to Polycarp, “Watch most carefully,” says he
 “for the preservation of union and concord, which are
 “the first of all blessings.” Therefore the first of all
 miseries are schism and division. Further on in the
 same letter, addressing the faithful, he says; “Hear
 “your bishop, that God may hear you. With what joy
 “would I give my life for those who submit to the bish-
 “op, the priests and the deacons! Oh! that I may be
 “one day united with them in the Lord!” And in his
 epistle to the Philadelphians: “Not that I have found
 “schism among you, but I wish to fortify you against it as
 “the children of God.” He does not wait till schism
 has appeared: he stifles it in the birth and cuts it off in
 the bud. “All those, who are of Christ, hold with their
 “bishops, but those who separate to embrace the com-
 “munion of accursed men, shall be cut off and con-
 “demned together with them.” And to the Ephesians:
 “Whoever (says he) separates from the bishop and
 “agrees not with the first-born of the Church, is a wolf
 “in sheep’s clothing. My dearly beloved, labour to re-
 “main united to the bishop, the priests, and the deacons.
 “He who obeys them, obeys Christ, by whom they were
 “established: he who revolts against them, revolts also
 “against Jesus.” What, I pray, would he have said
 of those who have since revolted against the decision of
 general councils, and who, in contempt of all the bishops
 of the world, have joined themselves to a few monks or
 refractory priests, or to an assemblage of laics?

I pass on now to Polycarp,^a the celebrated bishop of
 Smyrna, who also is called apostolical, and no less
 illustrious than St. Ignatius. I recommend you to read
 the account of this bishop’s martyrdom in the excellent
 relation of it given by the faithful of Smyrna to the

^a He suffered martyrdom at Smyrna in the year 166, being
 upwards of a hundred years of age.—*Ruinart. Act. Martvr.*

Churches at Pontus. We have an epistle of his to the Philippians, in which he testified the utmost horror of those who were teaching heterodox opinions. Now heresy attacks at once both unity of doctrine, which it corrupts by its errors, and unity of government from which it withdraws itself, through an obstinate adherence to its own opinion. "Follow the example of our Saviour," says Polycarp, "continue firm in faith, unchangeable in doctrine, loving one another." At the age of ninety and upwards, they saw him leave them to go to Rome for the purpose of conferring with Pope Anicetus upon articles of pure discipline; the point above all in agitation being the celebration of Easter, which the Asiatics, as well as the Jews, solemnized on the fourteenth day of the equinoctial moon, and the Western Church on the Sunday following the fourteenth. His negotiation had the desired effect. It was agreed that the Eastern and Western Churches should follow their customs, without breaking the ties of communion and charity.^a It was during his stay in Rome, that meeting Marcion in the street and wishing to avoid him, that heretic said, "Do you not know me, Polycarp?—Yes, without doubt," replied Polycarp, "I know you to be the first-born of the devil." He could not contain his virtuous indignation against those, who employed themselves in perverting and sowing divisions among Christians.

Justin,^b who renounced the Platonic philosophy, to embrace christianity, which he defended by his Apologies and sealed with his blood, tells us that the Church is confined to one only communion, from which heretics are excluded, "There have been, says he, and still are individuals, who sheltering themselves under the name of Christians, have taught the world dogmas contrary to God, impieties and blasphemies. With them we have no communion, we regard them as the enemies of God, impious and wicked."^c

Irenæus,^d the illustrious bishop of Lyons, a disciple

^a Another example of recourse being had to the chair of Saint Peter.—^b Martyred in 167.— Dial: with Tryphon.—^d Born in Asia Minor, in 120.—martyred at Lyons in 202.

“bishop, as Jesus Christ his Father, and the college of
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of Polycarp, and, like his master, a martyr, wrote to Florinus, who had himself often seen Polycarp, and who was beginning to disseminate certain heresies : “ You have not been so instructed by the bishops who preceded you. I could still shew you the place where the blessed Polycarp sat to preach the word of God. I remember his sanctified demeanour and the majesty of his deportment. Methinks I hear him still recounting how he had conversed with John and many others, who had seen Jesus Christ, and what words he had heard from their mouths ; and I can assure you, before God, that if that holy bishop had heard of such errors as yours. he would immediately have stopped his ears, and exclaimed as he was accustomed ; good God, to what times hast thou preserved me, that I hear such things ! And immediately he would have retired.”^a In his learned work upon heresies, speaking of schismatics, he says : “ God will judge those, who shall occasion schisms ; cruel men who have no love for him, and who, preferring their own private advantage to the unity of the Church, not hesitating, for the most frivolous reasons, to divide and tear in pieces the most glorious body of Jesus Christ, and who would willingly give him up to death, were it in their power..... But those who separate and divide the unity of the Church shall be visited by the chastisement of Jeroboam.”^b

Dionysius, of Alexandria, in his letter to Novatus,^c who had just effected a schism in Rome, where he had got Novatian consecrated bishop, in opposition to the legitimate Pope, Cornelius, said to him “ If it is true, as you assert, that you repent of having thus gone astray, shew us your repentance by a prompt and voluntary return. For every thing should be endured, rather than divide the Church of God. It would be as glorious to die a martyr to save the Church from a schism and separation, as it would be to die for not worshipping the gods, and in my opinion much more so ; for in the latter case we become martyrs for our

^a Euseb. Hist. Book V....^b Book IV.—^c In 252, Eus. Hist. Book VI.

“own soul alone, in the former for the whole Church.
 “If then you can by friendly persuasion, or by firmness
 “of conduct, bring back your brethren to unity, that
 “good work will be of greater importance than your
 “fault; the latter will no longer be laid to your charge,
 “but the former will redound to your praise. But if
 “they refuse to follow you and imitate your return,
 “save, save at least your own soul. May prosperity al-
 “ways attend you, and the peace of the Lord again take
 “possession of your heart.”

To quote with justice the great bishop of Carthage,^a many of his letters, and the entire book he composed upon unity, should be brought forward; I shall only give you some extracts. The following is a passage become proverbial in tradition: “He cannot have God for his Father, who does not acknowledge the Church for his mother. Do the schismatics then imagine that Jesus Christ will be with them in their assemblies, whereas they assemble out of the Church! Let them know, that should they even give their lives to confess the name of Christ, they never would efface, by their blood, the stain of schism, because the crime of discord is beyond all expiation. He who is not in the Church can never be a martyr.”^a He afterwards shews the enormity of the crime by the terrible punishment of the first schismatics Coré, Dathan, and Abiron, and two hundred and fifty of their accomplices: The earth opened under their feet, and swallowed them down alive as they stood, and sucked them into its burning entrails.”

Hilary,^b bishop of Poitiers, expressed himself thus upon unity: “Although there is but one Church in the world, yet every town has its Church, and all together form but one Church, although there are many in number; because being many in number, there is still but *one*.”

Optatus of Milevum,^c produces the same example to shew that the crime of schism is above that of parricide and idolatry. He observes that Cain was not punished

^a Cyp. mart. 258.

^b Book on Unity.—^c Upon Psalm XIV. He died in 367.—
^d Died in 384.

with death, that the Ninivites obtained time to find favour by repentance; but no sooner did Coré, Dathan and Abiron begin to divide the people, than: "God," said he, "sends a devouring famine upon the land, which immediately opens its tremendous jaws, greedily swallows them down and closes upon its prey. These miserable creatures more properly buried than dead, fall into the abyss of hell. What will you say to this, you who foment schism, and have the audacity to defend it?"

"Nothing," says St. Chrysostom,^a "so much provokes the anger of God, as to divide his Church. Whatever good works we might have done, we should not on that account escape punishment for having broken the communion of the Church, and divided the body of Jesus Christ."^b

You are now going to read, probably not without trembling, in what manner St. Augustine^c spoke of schism. "The sacrilege of schism, the crime, the sacrilege full of cruelty: the sovereignly atrocious crime of schism; the sacrilege of schism which surpasses all crimes. Whoever separates an individual and draws him off to any party whatsoever, is thereby convicted of being the son of the devil and a murderer."—"The Donatists" says he moreover, "do indeed cure those whom they redeem by baptism from idolatry, but it is by inflicting upon them the more fatal wound of schism. Idolaters have been sometimes exterminated by the sword of the Lord; but, as for schismatics, the earth has swallowed them alive into its bosom."^d—"The schismatic may shed his blood, but he can never obtain a crown. Out of the Church, and after bursting the bands of charity and unity, you have nothing to expect but eternal punishment, even should you deliver up your body to the flames for the name of Christ."^e

Now, Sir, in perusing the reflections that I have laid open before you on the plan of God's revelation, and on the text of Scripture, perhaps you may have imagined

^a Died in 407.---^b Hom. on the Ep. to the Ephesians.---^c Died in 430. *Passim*.---^d Book I. against the Donatists.---^e Ep. to Donatus.

that I have carried things to exaggeration. Have I said too much? You have just heard some of the fathers, who after the apostles, till the fifth age, have thrown most light upon the world. How did they cherish union! How alarmed were they at any thing that might tend to wound it! What zeal in applying an immediate remedy! What a horror of schism! They have assigned it its place at the head of all crimes, looking upon it as the most fatal of all prevarications. They understood better than we the spirit of christianity, and discovered more clearly the noble views of our divine legislator. Oh! if these views had been as seriously considered and as thoroughly felt by all christians, if the necessary attention and obedience had always been paid to the precepts of Scripture and to the doctrine of the fathers, the sectarian would never have dreamed of making a party and of dividing the Church, or, if he had undertaken it, he would have found himself forsaken by the people. Wo to us, whom the vile interests of the earth have so often turned from the interests of heaven! Wo to us who are assailed by ignorance and blinded by passion! But when ignorance, and passion and interest have ceased to blind us, and when truth shews itself to us in full splendour, a thousand times wo to us, if we persist in the separation, after having acknowledged its revolting and antichristian principle, and the frightful consequences that ensue from it.

It would have been easy for me to lengthen these quotations, by adding what has been written upon this subject, during the first five ages by Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Firmilian of Cesarea, Theophilus of Antioch, Lactantius, Eusebius, Ambrose, &c., and after so many illustrious testimonies, the decisions of the bishops united in a body in the particular councils of Elvira, in 305; of Arles, in 314; of Gaugres, towards 360; of Saragossa, 318; of Carthage, 398; of Turin, 399; of Toledo, 400; of Constantinople, 381; of Ephesus, 431; of Chalcedon, 451. I prefer calling your attention to authorities, which, for being more modern, will not on that account, perhaps, appear less strong in your eyes, and no doubt will astonish you the more.

The confession of Augsburgh (Art. 7): 'We teach

‘that this one holy Church will exist always. For true unity of the Church, it suffices to agree in the doctrine of the gospel and the administration of the sacraments, as St. Paul said, one faith, one baptism, one God, the Father of all.’

The Catechism of Geneva (Sunday XVI), teaches that, ‘No one can obtain the pardon of his sins, unless he be first incorporated in the people of God, and persevere in the communion of the body of Christ:—Thus therefore there would be nothing but damnation and death for him who is out of the Church. Yes, without doubt, all those who separate from the communion of the faithful, to form a separate sect, must never expect salvation as long as they remain in that state of separation.’

The Helvetian Confession (Art. 12), speaking of the assemblies held by the faithful in all times since the apostles, adds: ‘All those who despise them and separate from them despise the true religion, and should be urged by the pastors and godly magistrates not to persist obstinately in their separation.’

The Gallican Confession (Art. 16): ‘We believe that no one is permitted to withdraw from the assemblies of worship, but that all ought to maintain the unity of the Church; and that whoever strays from it, resists the order of God.’

The 18th Article of the English convocation, 1562, teaches the same doctrine almost in the same terms.

The Scotch confession (Art. 27); ‘We firmly believe that the Church is one We utterly detest the blasphemies of those who pretend that all men, by following equity and justice, whatever religion they otherwise profess, shall be saved. For without Christ, there is neither life nor Salvation.’

The Belgic confession: ‘We believe and confess one only Catholic Church. Whoever forsakes this true Church, manifestly revolts against the ordinances of God.’

The Saxon confession (Art. 12); ‘It is a great consolation for us to know that there are no inheritors of eternal life except in the assembly of the elect, accord-

‘ing to that, whom he has predestinated, them has he called.’

‘The Bohemian confession (Art. 8); ‘We have been taught that all ought to keep the unity of the Church; ‘..... that no one should introduce sects or excite sedition, but that every one should prove himself a true member of the Church in the bond of peace and in unanimity of sentiment.’ How strange and deplorable was the blindness of these men, not to have known how to apply these principles to the time that preceded the preaching of Luther! What was so true, when they drew up their confessions of faith, was equally so, no doubt, at that time.

Even Calvin teaches; ‘that to forsake the Church is to deny Jesus Christ: that we must be greatly upon our guard against so criminal a separation; that a more atrocious crime cannot be imagined, than that of violating, by a perfidious sacrilege, the covenant which the only Son of God has deigned to contract with us.”^a Unhappy man! What a sentence has escaped his mouth. He will for ever be his own condemnation.

In 1680, Henchman, bishop of London, wishing to shew the dissenters the necessity of ending their schism, thought he should more effectually accomplish his object, if the Calvinistic ministers from without would join their voices with his: he wrote to M. Claude and to M. de l’Angle, ministers of Charenton, and to M. le Mayne, professor of divinity at Leyden: they all three entered into his views and gave him their opinion in writing. De l’Angle sets forth; ‘that all those, who, from hatred to the episcopacy, forsake the established Church were guilty of a very great crime; for schism (said he), is the most terrible calamity that can befall the Church.” Claude exhorts the English dissenters to consider, ‘whether their system is not in direct contradiction to the spirit of Christianity, which is a spirit of union, of social and fraternal intercourse, and never a spirit of division My Lord (continues he), I have not the least scruple in having recourse to violent remedies

^a Inst. book IV. — ^b Collier’s Eccl. Hist. vol. II. p. 899 and 900. Folio edition.

‘against the procedure of those who form a separate party, avoid the assemblies of the faithful, and withdraw themselves from your authority. Such conduct evidently amounts to a positive schism, a crime detestable in itself and abominable before God and man; those who incur its guilt, either by being its first promoters, or the supporters of it in others, must expect to render a terrible account at the great day of judgment.’ And yet, neither Claude, nor de l’Angle, nor Henchman, had any notion of applying to themselves and their predecessors that well-founded threat, they so emphatically held out against the Calvinists of England!

I have under my eye many more passages in which Melancthon, Peter Martyr, Gerhard, du Plessis, &c. and before them John Huss, teach the same doctrine. I turn them aside, to bring before you some of the most distinguished divines of your own Church. James I. the second supreme governor in spirituals, and his theologian, Casaubon, in their reply to the Cardinal du Perron, acknowledge in plain terms, ‘that there is no hope for salvation for those, who are separated from the Catholic Church or from its communion.’ ‘Touching the sin of dividing the Church,’ says Dr. Goodman, ‘that it is of the deepest dye and greatest guilt, I suppose we shall easily agree; for indeed no body can well doubt of that, who considers what care our Saviour took to prevent it, what pains he took with his apostles that they might be thoroughly instructed and not to differ in the delivery of his mind to the world, and with what extraordinary ardour he prayed for them upon this very account. John 17, 11. And the Apostles themselves answered their master’s care with their own diligence and circumspection. He that observes how industrious they were to resist all beginnings of Schism in every Church, to heal all breaches, and to take away all occasions of divisions, to unite all hearts and reconcile all minds; How they taught people to

* A Serious and Compassionate Enquiry into the Causes of the present Neglect and Contempt of the Protestant Religion and Church of England. Page 16-7, Part II, chap. 2nd. 3rd. Edition, London, 1675.

' detest this distemper as the bane of Christianity, charg-
 ' ing them to use the greatest caution against it, to mark
 ' and avoid all those men, that inclined that way, as
 ' persons of a contagious breath and infectious society:
 ' What odious names they give it, as *Carnality, the work*
 ' *of the flesh, and of the Devil:* He, I say, that observes
 ' all this, cannot but be apprehensive of the greatness of
 ' this sin. But he that shall trace the sense of the Church
 ' a little farther, will find the Primitive Christians hav-
 ' ing it in such detestation, that they thought it equal to
 ' the most notorious Idolatry, Murder and Sacrilege.
 ' This writer had deeply studied the sacred volume, and
 ' had caught the spirit of primitive tradition. Oh that the
 ' Parliament of 1558 had made the same salutary obser-
 ' vations, and that your fellow-countrymen had as deeply
 ' felt their force!

Samuel Parker, bishop of Oxford, expresses himself
 with a tone of confidence and triumph becoming this sub-
 ject. ' I will challenge all the world to shew me any
 ' one thing more earnestly enjoyn'd and frequently re-
 ' commended, than the preservation of Unity among
 ' Christians, and then if without an Unity of govern-
 ' ment, no other could be possibly preserv'd as our au-
 ' thor (Thorndyke) has proved from common sense and
 ' common experience, that must be the thing principally
 ' commanded by all these injunctions..... And
 ' thus our Saviour having instituted the Society of his
 ' Church and established Governors in it, when he en-
 ' joyns them to be careful to preserve Unity, no man
 ' can be so dull as not to understand, that he thereby
 ' requires them to make use of all means of obtaining
 ' it, but especially such as are necessary to its preserva-
 ' tion in all Societies. And therefore whether this Uni-
 ' ty of Government be enjoyned in express words in
 ' Scripture, I will not concern myself to enquire, be-
 ' cause 'tis as clear there to all men of common sense,
 ' as if it were so enjoyn'd, and that is enough."*

Such is the language of the enlightened men of your
 Church, of the most renowned protestant theologians, of

* Religion and Loyalty, by Samuel Parker, D. D. Archdeacon
 of Canterbury. Pages 255-6. Printed London 1684.

the confessions of faith published at Geneva, in Switzerland, in France, in Scotland and in England ; it is the language of the fathers whom I have cited above, and of the most ancient councils ; in fine, it is the language of all apostolical tradition. What then is this great dogma so loudly proclaimed, both by those who have always supported it, and those also who have violated it ? What strength must there be in its proofs, to make itself felt and known even in the bosom of schism and heresy, to have subdued its very enemies, and after the furious attacks so openly sustained from them, to have constrained them to pay homage to it, and by so doing, to place their principles and their conduct in so evident a contradiction as to be manifested to the eyes of the whole world !^a But in theory at least, and on the question of right, which is the point immediately in agitation, all parties are agreed ; the differences of communion disappear ; Lutherans, Calvinist, English, Scotch, the Greek and Latin Churches, the faith of all Christian ages, the doctrine of the apostles, the pressing and frequently repeated injunctions of our divine legislator ; all these, and even our feeble reason itself, unite in attesting the necessity of preserving unity in the Church and in belief, and agree in placing the dogma of Unity at the head of the evangelical precepts, and Schism at the head of all human prevarications.^b

^a See Appendix.

^b If catholics taught that salvation might be attained out of the true and only Church of Christ, their enemies would not have failed to place them in manifest opposition to scripture, the fathers, the councils, to the reformers themselves, to the confessions of faith of the reformed of France, Germany, Switzerland, the Low-Cuntries, Scotland, England, &c. They would not have failed, and assuredly with reason, to shew that of all christians they are the only ones who have the boldness to place salvation out of the boundaries fixed by the divine Legislator. But when they agree with all the protestant societies upon this article, is it not very strange that protestants fall furiously upon them for it as a crime ? and yet the journals, pamphlets, sermons and treatises, which swarm in England, Switzerland, and France, are unceasingly exciting against them the hatred of their fellow-countrymen, as if catholics alone

After having endeavoured to lay before your eyes, at one view, the different proofs that establish this in-

restricted salvation to the true Church, and as if they did not hold this doctrine in common with the other christian societies. What are we to think of such conduct? Let it not be attributed either to base perfidiousness or to hatred; let us rather impute it to ignorance, a shameful and fatal stain, it is true, and yet necessarily inherent in an age become too indifferent to the concerns of religion to instruct itself, and too fond of talking, not to discourse upon it, as if it was thoroughly versed in the subject.

Errors do not constitute heresy; but only that perversity which induces men to remain obstinately attached to them. Hence the expression of St. Augustine: "I may err, but I will never be a heretic." (a) Catholics do not hesitate to join this great light of the Church in making a complete distinction between those who established a heresy, and those who, afterwards being born in its bosom, have involuntarily imbibed error with their mother's milk. They regard the former as rebels to the divine authority of the Church; the latter as being without any bitterness against her and for the most part without obstinacy against her decrees of which they even know nothing. She believes that these latter, although they belong not to the body, yet belong to the soul of the Church. They think, with the same doctor, that the Church produces for itself children, both from her own womb, and from that of her servants, that is to say, from foreign communions. *Generat per uterum suum et per uterum ancillarum suarum*, (b) and that consequently heaven prepares elect from out of heretical societies, by the particular graces it is pleased to bestow. They cheerfully maintain moreover with the same Father, "that a person imbued with the opinion of Photinus, and believing it to be the catholic faith ought not to be called a heretic, unless after being instructed he choose rather to resist the catholic faith than to renounce the opinion he has embraced." (c) In fine, they admit with St. Augustine, 'that we must not rank among heretics those who carefully seek after the truth, and who are in a disposition to embrace it as soon as discovered.' (d) According to these principles the learned bishop Challoner teaches that, 'if error comes from invincible ignorance, it excuses from the sin of heresy, provided that with sincerity and without regard to worldly interest, a person be ready to embrace the truth immediately it shall present itself to him.' (d)

(a) Epist. CLXII.—(b) On baptism against the Donatists B. I. ch. X.—(c) Ibid.—(d) Epist. CLXII.—(e) Foundation of the Christian Doctrine, pag 9, 12th edition, London.

contestable dogma, I intend, with the assistance of God, to develope, in the following letter, the immediate causes to be derived from it.

Catholics cheerfully adhere to this conclusion of the judicious and profound Nicole: 'It is therefore true, according to all catholic theologians, that there is a great number of living members and true children of the Church, in communions separated from her; since there are so many infants, who always form a considerable part of them and since there might also be some among the adults, although she does not pay attention to it, because she does not know them.' (a) They maintain with the skilful theologians of the University of Paris, "that children of the uninstructed partake neither of heresy nor of schism; that they are excused by their invincible ignorance of the state of things: that they may, with the grace of God, lead a pure and innocent life: that God does not impute to them the errors to which they are attached by an invincible ignorance; that they may thus belong to the soul of the Church with faith, hope, and charity." (b).

In fine, leaving to themselves certain morose and ill-informed minds, catholics love to repeat, with regard to the greater number of persons who live in schism and heresy, what Salvian formerly said of the Goths and Vandals brought over to Christianity by the Arians: "They are heretics, but without knowing it: they err, "but with perfect sincerity." *Qualiter pro hoc falsa opinionis errore, in die judicii puniendi sunt, nullus potest scire, nisi solus judex* (c) Religion teaches catholics to judge the doctrines and forbids them to judge the persons of men. Of course therefore they maintain the principles and never allow themselves to condemn those who are out of their Church; they leave them to the judgment of God. He alone knows the bottom of the heart and the graces that he gives: he alone can read the actual disposition of the souls that he calls to his tribunal.

This doctrine is conformable with the spirit of Christianity, and shews to great advantage the extent of catholicity whilst it forbids us to mark out its precise boundaries. It also fully exculpates catholics from that imputation of enmity, and spirit of intolerance, which people are fond of lodging against them.

(a) On Unity. vol. I. ch. III.

(b) Censure de l'Emile.—(c) De Gub. Dei. Lib. V.

APPENDIX I.

“ But (have the innovators said,) corruption had found its way to the very heart of the Catholic Church ; we were positively obliged to leave her for our own security.” They have said this, I am aware. We shall presently see what we are to think of the weighty accusation ; let us examine in the first place, whether it be sufficient to justify their separation.

1^o. I maintain that their accusation, were it true, would not excuse them from schism, for I would answer them with one of your learned teachers ; (a) “ The corruptions in a Church are not of so destructive an influence, as schisms and divisions from it. It being much in the body spiritual as in the natural : where that which severs and dissolves the continuity of parts, tends more to the destruction of the whole, than that which corrupts them. You may cure a throat when it is *sore*, but not when it is *cut*.”

I would answer them with St. Cyprian and St. Augustine, that there never can be a lawful necessity for destroying unity ; that Aaron bore with a multitude of Jews, who had erected for themselves an idol ; Moses with a million of people who were ever murmuring against God ; David, with Saul ; Isaiah, with those whom he accused of an infinity of crimes ; and Jesus Christ with Judas. I would reply with the same fathers that Jesus Christ has enjoined the preservation of union among ourselves, reserving separation to himself alone, because the right of separating belongs to him alone, who can never be mistaken ; that, until the harvest, that is, till the last judgment the chaff and the wheat, the straw and the grain must remain mixed together ; that therefore we are not to leave the Church, because we discover chaff in the morals of individuals, though never in the public faith ; that we for our parts have only to endeavour to become the good grain. I would reply that the Donatists in vain pleaded for their justification, that

(a) South's Sermons, vol. V. p. 948, London ; 1737.

catholics were become Pagans, they have not on that account been the less justly accused of schism by the whole Church, even by the acknowledgment of protestants.

2 As for the heads of accusation ; there is no need of other witnesses than the protestants themselves, to acquit the Catholic Church of them. In fact, if in the beginning to attract the poor people or to retain them in their party ; if afterwards to justify their separation by some specious pretext, it was found necessary to make a noise with the sounding words, corruption, errors, dangerous to salvation, and idolatry in worship, divine providence permitted that there should arrive moments of disinterestedness and calmness, during which the reformers themselves, and their adherents after them, have relieved the catholic Church of these horrible accusations. For this I appeal to the confession of Angsburgh, the most authentic and most solemn act of the Lutheran communion ; it thus concludes the exposition of its doctrines : " Such is the abridgment of our faith, in which nothing will be discovered contrary to scripture, or to the catholic Church, or even to the Roman Church, as far as we can know it from its writers. The dispute turns upon some few abuses which have been introduced into the Churches without any certain authority ; and should there be found some difference, that should be borne with, since it is not necessary that the rites of the Church should be every where the same." (a) In the apology is found the same moderation. Luther (would you believe it ?) in the treatise which he published (b) against private masses, and in which he relates his famous dialogue with the Devil, outrageous as he shews himself against the catholic Church, which he regards as the seat of Antichrist and abomination, far from refusing it the title of Church on that account, declares in spite of every thing, " that it is the true Church, the pillar and support of truth and the most holy place. In this Church, continues he, God miraculously preserves baptism, the text of the Gospel in all languages, the remission of sins and absolution, as well in private confession as in public ; the sacrament of the altar about Easter and three or four times a year, although they have cut off one kind from the people ; the vocation and ordination of pastors, consolation in the last agony, the image of the crucifix, and at the same time the remembrance of the death and passion of Jesus Christ ; the psalter, the Lord's prayer, the Creed, the Decalogue, and many pi-

(a) Art. 21. An. 1530.--(b) 1534.

"ous canticles in Latin and German." And a little later: "Where are found the true relics of the saints, there no doubt has been, and still is, the holy Church of Jesus Christ; there have dwelt the saints, for the institutions and the sacraments of Jesus Christ are there, except one of the kinds, which has been forcibly removed. On this account it is certain that Jesus Christ has been present in it, and that his spirit preserves therein the true knowledge of himself, the true faith in his elect."

Two protestant ministers of France, in their work *Montauban justifié*, published in 1662, quote a similar passage from Luther's book against the Anabaptists. They inform us afterwards that the answer given by Melancthon to his mother was known by all Germany and even through the whole of Europe. She asked him, which of the two religions was the better, the Catholic or the Protestant. "In my opinion, replied he, the Lutheran is the most plausible; the Catholic, the most secure."

I appeal moreover, both to the declarations of faith sent by the Calvinists of France to the Protestants of Germany, in which they adhere to the Confession of Augsburgh, except the 10th article upon the Eucharist; and to that of Theodore Beza, speaker for the Calvinistic party at the celebrated conference of Poissy. (a) The cardinal de Lorraine having proposed to him to receive the Confession of Augsburgh in all its articles, Beza accepted them without hesitation, with the exception of that of the Lord's supper, and solemnly assured him of the consent of all his brethren. Here then is the Catholic and Roman faith recognized, by authentic acts, to be conformable in essential points with the faith of the Lutherans and Calvinists [the Eucharist excepted,] and consequently exculpated, by their own confession, from idolatry, fundamental errors, and all corruptions incompatible with salvation. And as for the Eucharist, they cannot accuse of idolatry the adoration we there pay to Jesus Christ, since they tolerate it in the Lutherans, many of whom pay the same adoration to Jesus Christ in their sacrament, while the rest, agree at least, after Luther, that there is no crime in adoring Jesus Christ present upon the altar. It is moreover remarkable that the most learned Calvinists have argued with these latter, that they could not without impiety refuse their adoration to Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, where they believe him to be present, and that in this respect Catholics reasoned more consistently than they did themselves.

Calvin in person assures us (a) that Jesus Christ in order that his Church might not entirely perish, had preserved baptism and the essentials of religion in France, Italy, Germany, Spain, England, &c. and in his commentaries upon St. Paul, he ranks among the saints, Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory, Bernard, *and many others who resembled them*, professing, no doubt, the doctrine that these saints professed, the Catholics of their time did, and as they have done ever since. Peter Martyr expresses himself much in the same manner.

Daillé, the celebrated minister of Charenton, (b) after proving that the Church of Rome admitted the articles of the Creed, adds: "And if there be still any other principal article, this Church receives them all and embraces them with you, and condemns the names and the memory of those, who have either shaken or overturned them in ancient or modern times. Truly we cannot deny, nor would we wish to deny, that the Church of Rome believes these holy truths. Thanks be to our Lord for having preserved them for so many ages amidst so many revolutions. We could indeed have desired that she had never added any thing of her own If she had remained within these bounds, neither our fathers, nor we should ever have had any reasons for leaving her communion." And in another part, after enumerating the fundamental articles of Protestants, he continues; "Rome does not call in question the articles, which we believe; it even professes to believe them.—Who can deny, even in our day, that Rome admits the necessary articles." (c) Truth however obliges me to tell you, that Daillé seemed to be ashamed, when in the presence of his brethren in Germany, of having conceded so much to the Church of Rome. But, whatever he asserted afterwards respecting the pernicious opinions added by her to the necessary articles, it still is equally certain that the acknowledgments just cited were made by him.

I have still another important witness to produce, (d) the too famous Bishop of Spalatro, who, while a refugee in England under James I, published there, in 1616, his Latin work upon the Ecclesiastical republic, in which he expresses himself as follows; "It is one thing to desert the faith, by a deficiency; and another to injure the faith, by excess. Heresy properly speaking consists in

(a) Instit. chr. B. IV. ch. II.—(b) Quoted by Messrs. de Wallemburgh—*Apol.* ch. V.—(c) *La loi fondée* part III.—(d) M. Aut. de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro, in Dalmatia.

"the deficiency, that is to say, when an essential article is denied or not admitted. I was born it is true, in the Church of Rome; to it I am indebted for my education and my dignities; I grew gray in its bosom. Although I have for a long time been imbued with its errors, I will not, for I cannot, acknowledge that I ever was a heretic in the sense above explained, not even materially so. For most assuredly there is no fundamental articles of faith, that this Church rejects or that I have ever rejected with it." And afterwards on this point: "What then are we to think of the Church of Rome? Is it Catholic or not? I answer, still keeping in view a deficiency in fundamentals, that this Church has always been and is still at the present day, perfectly Catholic, inasmuch as she professes and believes the Catholic and fundamental faith, in all its integrity; although I doubt not that its faith is rather sickly than sound, and that it has lost some of its beauty by an admixture of strange additions."

There is no one, not even the impetuous Jurieu, but who has been obliged to acknowledge that salvation is attainable in the Church of Rome. He afterwards indeed denies having said it, and doubtlessly would wish not to have done so. He redoubles his invectives and calumnies against it, and goes so far as to pretend that in it is idolatry as gross as formerly existed at Athens. "But, with all this (said M. Bossuet), God is the Master, God compels the enemies of the truth and the calumniators of the Church to say more than they would wish, and while in the very act of calumniating the Church, they unavoidably find themselves at the feet of that Church, acknowledging that men are saved in her communion." The passages from Jurieu follow after: you may find them in the third "Advertisement" of this great Bishop to the Protestants.

I pass on to some particular facts, which will also give you to understand that the opinion of the reformed teachers is favourable to the Church of Rome. Henry IV. after having conquered his kingdom sword in hand, applied himself seriously to the study of religion. Although the interests of his crown might give him an inclination towards Catholicism, he weighed the reasons on both sides; and it was principally from the acknowledgment of the divines of his party, that he determined upon embracing the catholic religion; for when the most able ministers acknowledged to him that he could also work out his sal-

vation in this Church, he exclaimed; "Then I will take "the safest side." (a) M. de Sully had not only declared to him that he held it as certain that men might be saved being Catholics, but moreover mentioned to this Prince five of the principal ministers, who were not opposed to this sentiment.

Formerly, when in England, I read the declaration made by the Duchess of York before her death, under Charles II., of the reasons that had induced her to embrace the catholic religion. I have now nothing but the translation before me; (b) I have reason to believe it faithful. "I was "desirous, (says she,) of conferring upon these matters "with the two most talented bishops that we have in England, and both of them candidly acknowledged to me, "that there are many things in the Church of Rome, "which it were desirable that the Church of England had "always preserved, such as, confession, which they cannot deny that God himself commanded, and praying for "the dead, which is one of the most authentic and most "ancient practices of the Christian religion; that, as for "themselves, they still made use of them in private, without making profession of them in public.

"As I was pressing one of these bishops upon the other "points of controversy, and principally upon the real presence of Jesus Christ in the adorable sacrament upon the altar, he frankly replied to me, that, if he were a Catholic, he would not change his religion; but that having "been brought up in the Church in which he believed "himself to enjoy all that was necessary for salvation, and "having been baptized in it, he thought he could not leave "it without great scandal." O! but unity and schism! did they never enter your mind, my Lord?

Elizabeth Christina, Queen of Charles VI. and mother of the immortal Maria Theresa, was desirous before she accepted the imperial crown, of securing the most important of all affairs, her salvation. She consulted upon the subject the most able protestant divines, and they declared to her, by an authentic and public document, that the catholic religion also conducted to salvation.

On occasion of the projected marriage (afterwards ratified,) of the Princess of Wolfenbuttel with Charles III. King of Spain, the faculty of theology at Helmstadt were consulted upon the following question. Can a Protestant Princess, destined to marry a Catholic Prince, embrace

(a) Mem. de Sully, ch. XXXVIII.—(b) See the end of vol. II. of the Hist. of Calvin, by Maimbourg.

the Catholic religion, with safe conscience? The professors unanimously gave an affirmative opinion in a long and argumentative reply, which they all signed, the 28th of April, 1707. You may read it at the end of a small work entitled; *The Duke of Brunswick's fifty reasons for leaving the Lutheran communion to enter into the Catholic Church.* (a)

To these decisions, I could join the testimonies of your own instructors, such as Barrow, Hooker, Cowel, Bunny, Some, Morton, Montague, Heylin, Potter, Laud, Stillingfleet, &c. Of these I shall only cite one, who is of great weight.—“I declare, and am bound candidly to declare” (says Thorndyke) “I know not of any article necessary to salvation, that is prohibited by the Church of Rome; nor of any incompatible with salvation, that is propounded by her.” (b)

What shall we say of so many individuals who, being born and brought up in protestant communions, accustomed to hear of nothing but the errors, superstitions, and idolatry of the Church of Rome, induced afterwards by circumstances to examine more closely its doctrine, its principles, and its worship; have acknowledged their purity and conformity with the primitive faith and practice, have thrown aside their hatred of it together with the prejudices that had only been recommended to their belief by misrepresentations and calumnious imputations, and have concluded by ranking themselves among the number of her children, and by defending and vindicating her from the errors and crimes, which they themselves had so long been accustomed to lay to her charge. Such, among others, in my country, were the celebrated Cardinal Duperron, the grave and sensible Desmahis, the eloquent Pelisson, the learned Morin, priest of the Oratoire, and Papin, long a zealous minister of Calvinism, and who, after preaching his errors in France, England, and Germany, came to renounce and abjure them in the hands of the great bishop of Meaux; and in your country, Challoner, Gother, the two Hays, and the anonymous author of an excellent work which does no less honour to his heart than to his head. (c) All these distinguished men, to whom

(a) Sold by Keating, Duke-street, Grosvenor-square, London, 1814.—(b) Thorndyke in *Epilog.* p. 146.—(c) *An Essay towards a proposal for Catholic Communion.* This is an excellent work, that cannot be sufficiently recommended to the English, who wish to become acquainted with the true Church. It was re-printed in London some few years back at the expense of the late M. Sheldon Constable, of Burton.

many more might have been added, have left behind them admirable works, equally useful to those who seek the truth and to those, who are carried on by their zeal to defend it.

I can personally assure you, Sir, that, having often had occasion, during my long residence in your country, to converse upon the difference of our religions with English bishops and divines, and even with well instructed laics; I have always found them of the same opinion and almost employing the same words. They would say to me that "their religion and mine were equally good; that the "greatest part of the differences turned upon ceremonies "and points of discipline, and some also upon opinions su-

And to cite more recent examples, I will here call to your recollection two striking conversions, that of M. Nathaniel Thayer, who after being a minister of the sect of puritans at Boston, was converted at Rome, in 1783, and has himself published the motives that led him back to catholic unity; that of Miss Elizabeth Pitt, a relation of the immortal minister, whose talents and eloquence have so long been the admiration and the astonishment of England; she pronounced her vows at the convent of the visitation at Abbeville, the 26th of November, 1787. I present you with the conclusion of the letter which, she wrote upon her conversion to the curé de Saint Jacques, of the same town, the 20th of June, 1788: "As for the protestants, who may obtain information of it, I do not consider myself calculated to instruct them, much less to convert them: "but I conjure them, as my brethren, whose salvation is most dear to me, to follow one piece of advice; which is, not to reject, without the most serious examination, the doubts, which "must be originated in their minds, if they think deliberately "upon it, by the novelty of their belief and its variations since "the reformation, compared with the antiquity and unity of "the catholic doctrine; for the true faith is one; and must necessarily be traced to the apostles and to Jesus Christ. May "it please God to enlighten them, as he has deigned to enlighten me, in order to draw me from the errors in which my "birth and education had unfortunately engaged me." Germany presents, in our days, a multitude of enlightened protestants, who have embraced catholicism, such as the learned M. Schlegel and his wife, daughter of the celebrated Mendelssohn: M. le comte de Stolberg, not less illustrious for his profound learning than for his noble birth: M. Werner, who from a poet becomes an humble priest, attracts all Vienna to his eloquent discourses, as he had before drawn Berlin to his dramatic representations: the learned Lutheran minister Baron de Stark, a catholic in private life and still more in his last works; the celebrated jurist M. de Haller, &c. &c.

"peradded (would they say,) to the ancient belief by our Church, and which theirs had thought proper to retrench; they considered the Churches of France and England as two sisters, in whom were discoverable a family likeness and the leading features of resemblance."

Would to God, Sir, that this resemblance might become perfect, as it formerly was, and as it ought never to have ceased to be!

After the facts and testimonies you have just read, I dare flatter myself, Sir, that you, by this time, no longer doubt of the injustice of the imputations cast upon the Church of Rome. They have originated in that sourness, malignity, and hatred, which the spirit of party always produces, and from people unfortunately finding it their interest to extend and support the defection. Destitute of reality and proofs, they recoil upon their inventors, and never will they justify the rupture. "It was evil done of them who first urged such a separation." (a) Calvin therefore was wrong in his conceit, when he wrote to Melancthon in 1552: "We have been compelled to separate from the whole world." (b)

To prove, however, that all these accusations were inadmissible, it would have been quite sufficient, without the detail, to have made the single observation, with which this note, already too long, shall be concluded. Who are they, that have dared to accuse the Church of innovation in dogma, error in doctrine, superstition in practice, and idolatry in worship? Who are they? The question is important.

At the head of all appears Luther, an Augustinian friar; next Carlostadius, an archdeacon; Melancthon, a professor of the Greek language; all three at Wirtemberg; their party is quickly joined by Œcolampadius, a monk of the order of St. Laurence, near Augsburgh; by Munster, a grey friar; by Bucer, a dominican; and by the famous Muncer, who from a disciple, became the infuriated leader of the anabaptists. So much for the first Lutherans. In Switzerland, Zuinglius, the curé of Glaris; at Geneva, in Switzerland and in France, Calvin, the young curé of Pont l'Evêque, near Noyon; Theodore Beza, the Latin poet and prior at Longjumeau; Peter Martyr, a Florentinian, who left the regular chapter of St. Augustine, ran from Italy with Ochin, general of the Capuchins, to dogmatize

(a) Bunny's *Treatise tending to pacification*. p. 109.

(b) "Discessionem facere a mundo toto coacti sumus."

in Switzerland, then at Strasburgh, then in England, and last of all once more in Switzerland, where he died. So much for the Calvinists. (*a*)

In Scotland, Knox, a monk, a priest, and afterwards the furious disciple of Calvin, whose principles he conveys to his native country, where he puts every thing into a flame (*b*); the Earl Murray, the natural, but unnaturally cruel brother of Mary Stuart, who passed from the convent of St. Andrew to the regency of the kingdom: Buchanan, the ungrateful calumniator of Mary Stuart (*c*); So much for the presbyterians. In fine, for the reformers of your country, I find a house of lords, with the exception of many lords and of all the bishops; a small majority of the house of commons, together with the Queen and her council. Now what do we discover in the persons I have just named? I touch not here upon selfish motives of ambition, interest, and lust, nor upon the morals and the conduct of these fiery fabricators of the reformation, which present an appearance any thing but apostolic. I pass by the scandalous marriages of the priests, and of religious men with religious women, which, when recurring among us in the midst of our impious revolution, have excited contempt and ridicule (*d*). But I ask, what was the character of the personages in the ecclesiastical hierarchy? Were they such as Jesus Christ had in view when he said: "Go, teach all nations . . . I am with you to the end of the world?" Was it to them that he said: "He that heareth you, hear—eth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me?" Was it to them that he promised the Holy Spirit, to come and instruct them in all truth? But as these lofty and magnificent promises were made to the apostles and their successors, as the apostles, and after them the bishops only, have, at all times, according to the promises and ordinances of Jesus Christ, governed his Church, decided controversies, and declared as judges what was revealed and what not; it was an easy and simple thing to stop the mouths of the innovators, by unanimously replying to them on all

(*a*) See Appendix II —(*b*) "The ruffian of the reformation," said Dr. Samuel Johnson.—(*c*) It is said that he retracted on his death-bed all that he had said injurious to the character of Mary.—(*d*) The bantering of Erasmus upon these sacrilegious connections is well known: "Æcolampadius has just married a tolerable pretty girl; seemingly this is the way he intends to mortify his flesh. They are mistaken in saying that Lutheranism is a tragical affair; for my part, I am persuaded that nothing is more comic, for the winding up of the piece is always a marriage, as in the comedies."

sides: "Who are you, that you must meddle with doctrinal points, must decide that such a doctrine is an error, such a point of discipline a corruption, such a practice idolatrous, and that you must needs produce a schism in the Church? As for you, you are but mere laics; and you others are only ecclesiastics of an inferior order. To decide on these subjects belongs not either to one or the other of you; the power comes from a higher source. Tell your complaints, lay open your doubts, and welcome; put forth to the world your reasonings upon the matters that offend and scandalize you. Solicit and urge, if you please, your superiors in the spiritual order, your judges, the bishops, to examine into them. But respectfully await their decision, and receive it with submission: for such is the ordinance of God, and obedience is your duty, and the part you have to act in religion."

Instead of this Christian and canonical proceeding, we find them disregarding the authority of all the bishops in the world, arrogating to themselves supereminence, overturning the arrangements of the divine Legislator, introducing anarchy in its place, preaching up and commanding a separation, and tearing in pieces the body of Jesus Christ. And this is what they have called a reformation. Let them give it what name they please, it is as clear as the sun, that a reformation of such a kind will eternally bear on the face of it the character of revolt, and in the indelible stain of schism will disclose the mark of reprobation.

APPENDIX II.

An Historical Account of the Opinions that the First Reformers have given for one another, and of the effects of their preaching.

LUTHER.

HE himself bears testimony that, "while a Catholic, he "passed his life in austerities, in watchings, in fasts and "praying, in poverty, chastity, and obedience."(a) When once reformed, that is to say, another man, he says that: "as it does not depend upon him not to be a man, so "neither does it depend upon him to be without a woman; "and that he can no longer forego the indulgence of the "vilest natural propensities."(b)

1. "I burn with a thousand flames in my unsubdued "flesh; I feel myself carried on with a rage towards wo- "men that approaches to madness. I, who ought to be "fervent in spirit, am only fervent in impurity."(c)

2. "To the best of my judgment, there is neither Em- "peror, nor King, nor Devil, to whom I would yield; no, "I would not yield even to the whole world."(d)

3. "He was so well aware of his immorality, as we are "informed by his favourite disciple, that he wished they "would remove him from the office of preaching."(e)

4. His timid companion acknowledges that he had re- "ceived blows from him, *ab ipso colaphos accepi.* (f)

5. "I tremble (wrote he to the same friend), when I "think of the passions of Luther; they yield not in vio- "lence to the passions of Hercules."(g)

(a) Tom. v. *In cap. I. ad Galat. v. 14.*—(b) *Ibid. Serm. de Matrim.* fol. 119.—(c) *Luth. Table-talk.*—(d) *Idem. Resp. ad Maleg. Reg. Aug.*—(e) *Sleid. Book II. 1520.*—(f) *Mel. Letters to Theodore.*—(g) *Mel. Letters to Theodore.*

6. "This man (said one of his cotemporary reformers),
 "is absolutely mad. He never ceases to combat truth
 "against all justice, even against the cry of his own con-
 "science."(a)

7. "He is puffed up with pride and arrogance, and se-
 "duced by satan."(b)

8. "Yes, the Devil has made himself master of Luther,
 "to such a degree, as to make one believe he wishes to
 "gain entire possession of him."(c)

"I wonder more, O Luther (wrote Henry VIII. to
 "him), that thou art not, in good earnest, ashamed, and
 "that thou darest to lift up thy eyes either before God or
 "man, seeing that thou hast been so light and so incon-
 "stant as to allow thyself to be transported by the instiga-
 "tion of the devil to thy foolish concupiscences. Thou, a
 "brother of the order of St. Augustine, hast been the first
 "to abuse a consecrated nun; which sin would have been,
 "in times past, so rigorously punished, that she would
 "have been buried alive and thou wouldst have been
 "scourged to death. But so far art thou from correcting
 "thy fault, that moreover, shameful to say, thou hast ta-
 "ken her publicly to wife, having contracted with her
 "an incestuous marriage and abused the poor and misera-
 "ble to the great scandal of the world, the reproach
 "and opprobrium of thy country, the contempt of holy ma-
 "trimony, and the great dishonour and injury of the vows
 "made to God. Finally, what is still more detestable, in-
 "stead of being cast down and overwhelmed with grief
 "and confusion, as thou oughtest to be, at thy incestuous
 "marriage, O miserable wretch, thou makest a boast of
 "it, and instead of asking forgiveness for thy unfortunate
 "crime, thou dost incite all debauched religious, by thy
 "letters and thy writings, to do the same."(d)

"God, to punish that pride of Luther, which is disco-
 "verable in all his works (says one of the first sacramen-
 "tarians), withdrew his spirit from him, abandoning him
 "to the spirit of error and of lying, which will always
 "possess those who have followed his opinions, until they
 "leave them."(e)

"Luther treats us as an execrable and condemned
 "sect, but let him take care lest he condemn himself as
 "an arch-heretic, from the sole fact, that he will not and
 "cannot associate himself with those who confess Christ.

(a) Hospinian.—(b) Œcolampadius.—(c) Zuinglius.—(d) In
 Horim. p. 299.—(e) Conrad Reis. *Upon the Lord's Supper*, B. 2.

"But how strangely does this fellow let himself be carried away by his devils! How disgusting is his language and how full are his words of the devil of hell! He says that the devil dwells now and for ever in the bodies of the Zuinglians; that blasphemies exhale from their insatanized, supersatanized, and persatanized breasts; that their tongues are nothing but lying tongues, moved at the will of Satan, infused, perfused, and transfused with his infernal poison? Did ever any one hear such language come out of an enraged demon? (a)

"He wrote all his works by the impulse and the dictation of the Devil, with whom he had dealing, and who in the struggle seemed to have thrown him by victorious arguments." (b)

"It is not an uncommon thing (said Zuinglius), to find Luther contradicting himself from one page to another (c); and to see him in the midst of his followers, you would believe him to be possessed by a phalanx of devils." (d)

Erasmus the most learned man of his age, he who has been called the pride of Holland, the love and delight of Great Britain, and of almost every other nation, (e) wrote to Luther himself: "All good people lament and groan over the fatal schism with which thou shakest the world by thy arrogant, unbridled, and seditious spirit." (f)

"Luther (says Erasmus again), begins to be no longer pleasing to his disciples, so much so that they treat him as a heretic, and affirm, that being void of the spirit of the Gospel, he is delivered over to the deliriums of a wordly spirit." (g)

"In very truth, Luther is extremely corrupt (said Calvin); (h) would to God he had taken pains to put more restraint upon that intemperance which rages in every part of him! would to God he had been attentive to discover his vices." (i)

"Calvin says again, that, "Luther had done nothing to any purpose that people ought not to let themselves be duped by following his steps and being half-papist; that it is much better to build a church entirely afresh" (j) Sometimes, it is true, Calvin praised

(a) The Church of Zurich, *against the Confession of Luther*, p. 51.—(b) Ibid.—(c) T. II. *Repons. ad confess. Lutheri*, fol. 44 (d) Ibid, fol. 381.—(e) Preface to the London Edition, year 1642.—(f) Epistle to Luther, 1626.—(g) Epistle to Cardinal Sado let, 1628.—(h) Cited by Conrad Schlusseberg.—(i) *Theol. Cal.* L. II. fol. 126.—(j) See *Florium*.

"Luther so far as to call him "the restorer of Christianity." (a) He protested however against their honouring him with the name of Elias. His disciples afterwards made the same protestation. "Those (said they), who put Luther in the rank of the prophets, and constitute his writings the rule of the Church, have deserved exceedingly ill of the Church of Christ, and expose themselves and their Churches to the ridicule and cutting reproaches of their adversaries." (b)

"Thy school (replied Calvin to Wesphal the Lutheran), is nothing but a stinking pig-stye ; dost thou hear me, thou dog? dost thou hear me, thou madman? dost thou hear me, thou huge beast?"

Carlostadius, while retired at Orlamund, had so far ingratiated himself with the inhabitants, that they must needs stone Luther, who had run over to rate him for his false opinions respecting the Eucharist. Luther tells us this in his letter to the inhabitants of Strasburgh: "These Christians attacked me with a shower of stones. This was their blessing: May a thousand devils take thee! mayst thou break thy neck before thou returnest home again." (c)

CARLOSTADIUS.

You shall have his portrait as drawn by the temperate Melancthon. "He was (says he), a brutal fellow, without wit or learning, or any light of common sense; who, far from having any mark of the spirit of God, never either knew or practised any of the duties of civilized life. The evident marks of impiety appeared in him. All his doctrine was either judaical or seditious. He condemned all laws made by Pagans. He would have men to judge according to the law of Moses, because he knew not the nature of Christian liberty. He embraced the fanatical doctrine of the Anabaptist immediately that Nicholas Storck began to spread it abroad. . . . One portion of Germany can bear testimony that I say nothing in this but what is true."

He was the first priest of the reform who married, and in the new fangled mass that was made up for his marriage, his fanatical partisans went so far as to pronounce this man blessed, who bore *evident marks of impiety*. The collect of the mass (c) was thus worded: "Deus qui post

(a) Ibid. p. 887.—(b) *In Admon. de lib. Concord*, ch. VI.—(c) Tom. II. fol. 447. Sen. Germ.—(d) Quoted in Florim.

“logam et impiam sacerdotum tuorum cœcitatem *Beatum*
 “Andræam Carlostadium eâ gratiâ donare dignatus es,
 “ut primus, nullâ habitâ ratione papistici juris, uxorem
 “ducere ausus fuerit; da, quæsumus, ut omnes sacerdotes,
 “receptâ sanâ mente, ejus vestigia sequentes, ejectis concu-
 “binis aut eisdem ductis, ad legitimi consortium thori con-
 “vertantur: per Dom. nost. etc.”

The Lutherans inform us, that “it cannot be denied
 “that Carlostadius was strangled by the Devil, consider-
 “ing the number of witnesses who relate it, the number
 “of others who have committed it to writing, and even
 “the letters of the pastors at Bâle. (a) He left behind
 “him a son, Hans Carlostadius, who, renouncing the er-
 “rors of his father, entered the communion of the Catho-
 “lic Church:

ZUINGLIUS.

“I do not refuse (wrote Melanchton), (b) to enter upon
 “a conference (at Marburgh) with Œcolampadius; for, to
 “speak to Zuinglius is time lost.—It is not, however, a
 “light undertaking, because their opinion is agreeable to
 “many, who are desirous of touching the mysteries of God
 “with their hand, and yet permit themselves to be con-
 “ducted by their curiosity.” Luther replying to the Land-
 “grave, said: “Of what use is this conference, if both par-
 “ties bring to it an opinion already formed and come with
 “the determination of yielding in nothing. I know for
 “certain that they are in error. These are the stratagems
 “of the Devil; and this is the way that every thing goes
 “worse and worse.”

“I cannot (says Zuinglius of himself) conceal the fire
 “that burns me and drives me on to incontinence, since it
 “is true that its effects have already drawn upon me but
 “too many infamous reproaches among the Churches.”(c)

The printer at Zurich, said Lavatherus, made a pre-
 sent to Luther of the translation of Zuinglius: but he sent
 it back with abusive language. “I will not read (said he)
 “the works of these people, because they are out of the
 “Church, and are not only damned themselves, but draw
 “many miserable creatures after them. As long as I live
 “I shall make war upon them by my prayers and my wri-
 “tings.” (d)

(a) *Hist. de Cœn. August.* fol. 41.—(b) Quoted in Florim.—
 (c) In *Parenas ad Helvet*, t. 1, d. 113.—(d) *Schlusseemb. lib. 11.*
Theol. Calvin. quoted in Florim, p. 96.

Carlostadius's opinion upon the Eucharist seemed to Luther to be foolish; that of Zuinglius fallacious and wicked, giving nothing but wind and smoke to Christians, instead of the true body of Jesus Christ, who spoke of neither sign nor figure. (a)

"The Zuinglians write that we look upon them as brethren; this is a fiction so foolish and impertinent (proclaimed the Lutherans in full synod) that we cannot be sufficiently astonished at their impudence. We do not even grant to them a place in the Church, far from recognizing as brethren, a set of people, whom we see agitated by the spirit of lying, and uttering blasphemies against the Son of Man." (b)

Brentius, whom Bishop Jewel called the grave and learned old man, declares that "the dogmas of the Zuinglians are diabolical, full of impiety, of corruptions and calumnies; that the error of Zuinglius upon the Eucharist drew along with it many others still more sacrilegious;" (c) he predicted that the Zuinglians would soon shew the heresy of the Nestorians springing up again in the Church of God; "soon (says he,) will the different articles of our religion disappear one after another, and to them will succeed the superstitions of the Pagans, the Talmudists, and the Mahometans." (d)

Luther openly declared that "Zuinglius was an offspring of hell, an associate of Arius, a man, who did not deserve to be prayed for . . ."

"Zuinglius, (said Luther) is dead and damned, having desired like a thief and a rebel, to compel others, to follow his error." (e)

"Many protestants (testifies the Apologist of Zuinglius,) have not scrupled to pronounce that he died in his sins, and thus to send him to hell." (f)

"Blessed is the man who hath not walked in the counsel of the Sacramentarians, nor stood in the way of the Zuinglians, nor sat in the chair of the Zurichians. You understand what I mean." (g)

(a) In Florim. p. 109.—(b) *Epitome Colloq. Maul. Brunæ* 1564, p. 82.—(c) Brentius in *Recogn. Prophet, et Apost.* in fine. (d) In *Bullingeri Coronide*, an. 1544.—(e) Tom. II. fol. 36, cited in Florim.—(f) Gualter in *Apolog.* Tom. I. oper. Zuingl. fol. 18.—(g) Luth. Epist. ad Jacob presbyt.

CALVIN.

Calvin, being obliged to leave France to disengage himself from law affairs, went to Germany and there sought out the greater part of those who were busy in disturbing the consciences and agitating the minds of men. At Basle he was presented by Bucer to Erasmus, who resorted to the private conferences without being induced to embrace the opinions of these innovators. Erasmus, after having conversed with him upon some of the points of religion, exceedingly astonished at what he had discovered in his dispositions, turned towards Bucer and shewing young Calvin to him, said: "I see a great plague rising in the Church against the Church; video magnam pestem oriri in Ecclesia contra Ecclesiam."

"Calvin, I am aware, is violent and wayward: so much the better; he is the very man to advance our cause."^(a) Thus spoke a German who had taught him at Bourges, and who, together with Greek and Hebrew, had crammed him with the new doctrines of Germany.

"Calvin, (said Bucer,) is a true mad dog. The man is wicked, and he judges of people according as he loves or hates them."

Baudoin, expressing his disapprobation of the opinions of Bucer and Melancthon, said that he admired their modesty, but that he could not endure Calvin, because he had found him too thirsty for vengeance and blood; propter nimiam vindictæ et sanguinis sitim Baudoin, induced by Cassandre, had renounced the doctrine of Calvin. He was the most learned and renowned lawyer of his time; he was born in the year 1520, and died in 1573. See his Funeral Oration on Papyrius Masson. Paris 1638. Se Bibl. Mazarine.

The intolerant and sanguinary spirit of this too celebrated man appears in one of his letters to his friend, the Marquis du Poët; "Do not find fault with our ridding the country of these fanatics, who exhort the people by their discourses to bear up against us, who blacken our conduct, and wish to make our faith be considered as an idle fancy. Such monsters ought to be suffocated, as happened at the execution of Michael Servetus, the Spaniard." The original of this letter has been preserved in the archives of the Marquis du Montelimart. We are as-

(a) Wolmar.

sured that M. de Voltaire received in 1772 an authentic copy of it, according to his request, and that, after he had read it, he wrote on the margin some lines against Calvin.

"What man was ever more imperious and positive and more divinely infallible than Calvin, against whom the smallest opposition that men dared to make was always a work of Satan, and a crime deserving of fire."(a)

Calvin's erroneous opinions upon the Trinity excited against him the zeal of one, who in other respects held his sacramentarian opinion; "What demon has urged thee, O Calvin! to declaim with the Arians against the Son of God? It is that antichrist of the north that thou hast the imprudence to adore, that grammarian Melancthon."(b) "Beware, Christian readers, above all, ye ministers of the word, beware of the books of Calvin.—They contain an impious doctrine, the blasphemies of Arianism, as if the spirit of Michael Servetus had escaped from the executioner, and according to the system of Plato had transmigrated whole and entire into Calvin."(c) The same author gave as the title to his writings: "Upon the Trinity, and upon Jesus Christ our Redeemer, against Henry Sullinger, Peter Martyr, John Calvin, and the other ministers of Zurich and Geneva, disturbers of the Church of God."

By teaching that God was the author of sin Calvin raised against him all parties of the reform. The Lutherans of Germany united to refute so horrible a blasphemy; "This opinion (said they,) ought every where to be held in horror and execration; it is a stoical madness, fatal to morals, monstrous and blasphemous."(d)

"This Calvinistic error is horribly injurious to God, and of all errors the most mischievous to mankind. According to this Calvinistic theologian, God would be the most unjust tyrant—It would no longer be the Devil, but God himself who would be the Father of lies"(e)

The same author, who was superintendant and general inspector of the Lutheran Churches in Germany, in the three volumes he published against the Calvinistic theology, (f) never makes mention of the Calvinists without giving them the epithets of *unbelievers, impious, blasphemers, impostors, heretics, incredulous, people struck with*

(a) J. J. Rousseau. *Lettres de la mont.*—(b) Stancharus de Meud. in *Calv. instit.* No. 4—(c) *Id* *ibid.* No. 3.—(d) *Corpus doctrinæ Christianæ.*—(e) Conrad. Schlussemb. *Calvin. Theolog.* fol. 46—(f) Francfort. 1392.

the spirit of blindness, barefaced and shameless men, turbulent ministers, busy agents of satan, &c.

Heshusius, after exposing the doctrine of the Calvinists, indignantly declares, that "they not only transform God into a Devil, the very idea of which is horrible : but that they annihilate the merits of Jesus Christ to such a degree that they deserve to be banished forever to the bottom of hell."^(a)

The Calvinists themselves objected against this doctrine of their leader. Bullinger proves its erroneousness from Scripture, the Fathers and the whole Church. "We do therefore (said he) prove clearly from Scripture this dogma taught every where since the Apostles' time, that God is not the author of evil, the cause of sin, but our corrupt inclinations or concupiscence, and the devil, who moves, excites and inflames it."^(b) And Châtillon, whom Calvin had for a long time taken into his house and fed at his table, was one of the first to take up the pen against his benefactor and master, although he did it with all the deference due to this double title. "He is a false God (said he) that is so slow to mercy, so quick to wrath, who has created the greatest part of men to destroy them, and has not only predestinated them to damnation, but even to the cause of their damnation. This God, then, must have determined from all eternity, and he now actually wishes and causes that we be necessitated to sin ; so that thefts, adulteries and murders are never committed but at his impulse ; for he suggests to men perverse and shameful affections ; he hardens them, not merely by simple permission, but actually and efficaciously ; so that the wicked man accomplishes the work of God and not his own, and it is no longer Satan, but Calvin's God, who is really the father of lies."^(c)

Calvin in his turn forgets not to reproach Chatillon with his ingratitude, and adds: "Never did any man carry pride, perfidy and inhumanity to a higher pitch. He who does not know thee to be an imposter, a buffoon, an impudent cynic and one ever ready to rail at piety, is not fit to judge of any thing." Towards the end of his reply, he dismisses him with the following Genevan benediction: "May the God Satan quit thee ; amen. Geneva, 1558."

About 1588, appeared in London, a work written, or at least approved, by the English Bishops, against the Calvinistic sect of Puritans. Calvin and Beza are there de-

(a) *Lib. de Præsent. Corp. Christ.* 1560, in fine.—(b) *Decad. III. Serm. X.*—(c) Castellion in *lib. de Prædestin. ad Calvin.*

scribed (a) as intolerant and proud men, who by open rebellion against their prince, had founded their gospel, and pretended to rule the Churches with a more odious tyranny, than that, with which they had so often reproached the sovereign pontiffs. They protest in the presence of the Almighty God, that, "amongst all the texts of Scripture quoted by Calvin or his disciples, in favour of the Church of Geneva against the Church of England, there is not a single one, that is not turned to a sense unknown to the Church and to all the Fathers, since the time of the apostles; so that were Augustin, Ambrose, Jerom, Chrysostom, &c. to return again to life and to see in what manner the Scripture had been cited by these Genevese doctors, they would be astonished that the world should ever have met with a man, so audacious and extravagant as to dare, without the least colour of truth, to ill treat in such a way, the word of God, himself, his readers and the whole world." And after declaring that from this Genevese source an impoisoned, seditious and Catalinarian doctrine had been spread over England, they add: "Happy, a thousand times happy our island, if neither English nor Scot had ever put foot in Geneva, if they had never become acquainted with a single individual of these Genevese doctors!"

The partizans of Calvin have attempted, and for his credit, I wish they had succeeded in their attempt, to rescue his memory from the crime and disgrace of having the mark of infamy branded on his shoulder. "What must pass as an indisputable proof of the crimes imputed to Calvin, is that, after the accusation had been prepared against him, the Church of Geneva, not only did not shew the contrary, but did not even contradict the information, which Berthelier, commissioned by the persons of the same town, gave at Noyon. This information was signed by the most respectable inhabitants of Noyon, and was drawn up with all the accustomed forms of the law. And in the same information we see that this heresiarch, having been convicted of an abominable sin, which was always punished by fire, the punishment that he had deserved was at the intercession of his bishop, mitigated into that of the *fleur-de-lis* Add to this, that Bolesque, having given the same information, Berthelier, who was still living in the time of Bolesque, did not contradict it, as, undoubtedly, he would

(a) A Survey of the pretended holy discipline, page 44, by Bishop Bancroft.

"have done, had he been able to do so, without going against the conviction of his conscience, and opposing the public belief. Thus the silence both of the whole town interested in the affair and also of his secretary, is, on this occasion, an infallible proof of the disorders imputed to Calvin." (a) They were at that time so uncontested, that a Catholic writer, speaking of the scandalous life of Calvin, advances as a fact well known in England, that, "the leader of the Calvinists had been branded with the *fleur-de-lis* and had fled from his native town; and that his antagonist Wittaker, acknowledging the fact, merely replied by the following shameful comparison: "Calvin has been stigmatised, so has St. Paul, so have others also." (b) I find also that the grave and learned Doctor Stapleton, (c) who had every opportunity of gaining information on this subject, having spent his life in the neighborhood of Noyon, speaks of this adventure of Calvin's in the terms of one who was certain of the fact. "Inspiciuntur etiam adhuc hodie civitatis Noviodunensis in Picardiâ scrinia et rerum gestarum monumenta: in illis adhuc hodie legitur Joannem hunc Calvinum sodomice convictum, ex Episcopi et magistratûs indulgentiâ, solo stigmatè in tergo notatum, urbe excessisse; nec ejus familiæ honestissimi viri, adhuc superstites, impetrare hactenus potuerunt, ut hujus facti memoria, quæ toti familiæ notam aliquam inurit, e civicis illis monumentis ac scriniis eraderetur." (d) Moreover, the Lutherans of Germany equally speak of it as of a fact: "De Calvinii variis flagitiis et sodomiticis libidinibus, ob quas stigma Joannis Calvinii dorso, impressum fuit a magistratu, sub quo vixit." (e) "And as for the affected silence of Beza, it is replied, that the disciple having acquired notoriety by the same crimes and the same heresy as his master, he merits not the confidence of any one on this point."

It is very possible and most easy to dissemble like Beza and others after him; but, surely, it is hardly possible to fabricate at pleasure the account, that an eye-witness and that cotemporaries have given us of the death of this man, an account which must excite compassion and terror in all who hear it. An eye-witness, who was then his disciple,

(a) Card. Richelieu, *Traité p. convert.* liv. II. pp. 319, 320.—(b) Campian in the 3rd reason, year 1582.—(c) Born in 1586.—He was nearly 30 years of age when Calvin died, in 1564,—(d) *Promptuar Catholic.* pars. 32, p. 133.—(e) Conrad. Schlussemb, *Calvin Theolog.* lib. II. II. fol. 72.

gives the following information: (a) Calvinus in desperatione finiens vitam obiit turpissimo et fœdissimo morbo, "quem Deus rebellibus et maledictis conminatus est, prius excruciatu et consumptus. Quod ego verissime attestari audeo, qui funestum et tragicum illius exitum his meis oculis præsens aspexi." (b) The Lutherans of Germany testify, "Deum etiam in hoc sæculo iudicium suum in Calvinum patefecisse, quem in virga furoris visitavit, atque horribiliter punivit, ante mortis interitum horam. Deus enim manu suâ potenti adeo hunc hereticum percussit, ut, desperatâ salute, dæmonibus invocatis, jurans, execrans, et blasphemans miserrime, animam malignam exhalaret; vermibus circa pudenda in apostheme seu ulcere fœtentissimo crescentibus, ita ut nullus assistentium fœtorem amplius ferre posset." (c)

On this subject I find an account too curious to be omitted here. "The Dean told me that an old Canon, a familiar friend of Calvin's, had formerly related to him the manner, in which John Calvin died, and that he had learned it from a man called *Petit Jean*, who was Calvin's valet and who attended on him to his last expiring breath. This man after his master's death, left Geneva, and went to reside again at Noyon. He related to this Canon that Calvin on his death bed made much lamentation, and that oftentimes he heard him cry out aloud and bitterly bewail his condition, and that one day he called him and said; Go to my study, and bring from such a part, 'The Office of our Lady according to the use at Noyon.' He went and brought it; and Calvin continued a long time praying to God from this office: he mentioned that the people of Geneva were unwilling to let many persons visit him in his illness, and said that he laboured under many complaints, such as imposthumes, the rash, the piles, the stone, the gravel, the gout, consumption, shortness of breath, and spitting of blood; and that he was struck by God, as those of whom the Prophet speaks, *Tetigit eos in posteriora, os improbrum semper iterum dedit eis.*" (d)

(a) Joan Harem. Apud Pel. Cutzamium.---(b) *Sec Dict. de Peller art. CALVIN.*---(c) Conrad Schlussemb in *Theolog. Calvin*, lib. II. fol. 72. *Francos. an. 1592*---(d) *Remarques sur la vie de J. Calvin*, taken from the records of the chapter at Noyon, the personal examination that took place in 1614; by James Desmay, doctor of Sorbonne, vic. gen. of Rouen. This little work, dedicated to Lord Kay, earl of Ancaster, 1621, is to be found in the *Bibliothèque du Roi*.

It is the part of candour to signify that I have not seen a

This recital agrees with that of Bolse, who also cites the testimony of those who attended upon Calvin in his last illness. For after having spoken of the complaints mentioned by Beza, and of the lousy disease, about which Beza says nothing, he adds: "Those who attended upon him to his last breath have testified it. Let Beza, or whoever pleases deny it: it is however clearly proved, that he cursed the hour in which he had ever studied and written: while from his ulcers and his whole body proceeded an abominable stench, which rendered him a nuisance to himself and to his domestics, who add moreover, that this was the reason why he would have no one go and see him." (Life of Calvin, Lyons, 1577, transl. from the Latin.)

THEODORE BEZA.

Let us now pass on to Calvin's celebrated biographer. The Lutherans shall teach us in what esteem and value we are to hold him: "Who will not be astonished (says Heshusius) at the incredible impudence of this monster, whose filthy and scandalous life is known throughout France, by his more than cynical epigrams. And yet you would say, to hear him speak, that he is some holy personage, another Job, or an anchoret of the desert, nay greater than St. Paul or St. John; so much does he every where proclaim his exile, his labours, his purity and the admirable sanctity of his life."(a)

If we wish to refer the matter to one holding an elevated situation among the Lutherans: "Beza (says he to us) draws to the life, in his writings, the image of those ignorant and gross persons, who for want of reason and argument have recourse to abuse, or of those heretics, whose last resource is insult and abuse and thus, like an incarnate demon, this obscene wretch, this per-

word about the famous *fleur-de-lis* in the work of M. Desmay, although he carefully made his enquiries in these places. I should be glad if that silence carried sufficient weight with it to destroy the very positive and public assertions of authors who wrote more than forty or fifty years before him. It appears that M. Desmay only examined the records of the Chapter and not those of the town. Moreover, it was then eighty years after the sentence had been passed upon Calvin, and we are assured that his friends had succeeded in removing it from the records of the town.

(a) Traduct. de Florim. p. 1048.

"fect compound of artifice and impiety vomits forth his "satirical blasphemies." (a) The same Lutheran testifies that "after having spent twenty-three years of his life in "reading more than 220 Calvinistic productions, he had "not met with one, in which abuse and blasphemy were "so accumulated as in the writings of this wild beast. "And if any one doubt of it, adds he, let him run over his "famous Dialogues against Dr. Heshusius. No one would "ever imagine they were written by a man, but by Beelzebub himself in person; I should be horror struck to "repeat the obscene blasphemies, which this impure atheist puts forth on the gravest subjects with a disgusting "mixture of impiety and buffoonery: undoubtedly, he had "dipped his pen in some infernal ink."

"Beza who was a Frenchman, says Florimond, (b) and "the great buttress of Calvin's opinions attacked Luther's "version as impious, novel and unheard of." "Truly, retorted the Lutherans, it well becomes a French merryandrew, who understands not a word of our language, to "teach the Germans to speak German."

MELANCHTON.

Let us confine ourselves to the judgment passed upon him by those of his communion. The Lutherans declared in full synod; "that he had so often changed his opinions "upon the supremacy of the Pope, upon justification by "faith alone, upon the Lord's supper and free-will, that "all this his wavering inconstancy had staggered the "weak in these fundamental questions and prevented a "great number from embracing the confession of Augsburg; that by changing and re-changing his writings "he had given too much reason to the *Episcopalian*s to "set off his variations, and to the faithful to know no longer what doctrine to consider as true." (c) They add; "that this famous work upon the theological common "places would much more appropriately be called a Treatise upon Theological witticisms."

Schlussemberg goes so far as to declare; "that being "struck from above by a spirit of blindness and dizziness, "Melanchton afterwards did nothing but fall from one "error into another, till at last he himself knew not what "to believe." (d) He says moreover, that; "Melanchton

(a) Schlussemberg, in *Theolog. Calvin.* lib. II. passim.—(b) p. 96.—(c) *Colloq. Altenb.* fol. 502, 503 year 1568. (d) *Theol. Calvin.* lib. II. p. 91.

"had, evidently impugned the divine truth, to his own shame and the perpetual disgrace of his name."(a)

ÆCOLAMPADIUS.

The Lutherans wrote in the Apology for their Lord's supper, that Æcolampadius, a fautor of the sacramentarian opinion, speaking one day to the Landgrave, said: "I would rather have my hand cut off than that it should ever write any thing against Luther's opinion respecting the Lord's Supper."(b)

When this was told to Luther, by one who had heard it, the hatred of the Patriarch of the reform seemed immediately softened down. On learning the death of Æcolampadius, he exclaimed; "Ah! miserable and unfortunate Æcolampadius, thou was the prophet of thy own misery, when thou didst appeal to God to exercise his vengeance on thee, if thou taughtest a false doctrine. May God forgive thee; if thou art in such a state that he can forgive thee."

Whilst the inhabitants of Bâle were placing the following epitaph on his tomb in the Cathedral: "John Æcolampadius, Theologian, first preacher of evangelical doctrine in this town and true bishop of the temple;" Luther was positive and sure, and afterwards wrote on his side, that "the devil, whom Æcolampadius employed, strangled him during the night in his bed. This is the excellent master (continues he) who taught him that there are contradictions in Scripture. See to what Satan brings learned men."(c)

OCHIN.

This religious man, superior of the Capuchins, leaving Italy and his order, where he had acquired a great reputation for the austerity of his life and his distinguished talent in preaching, repaired to Peter Matyr in Switzerland, where, after striking acquaintance with the Sacramentarians, he went a step farther and preached up Arianism. "He is become (wrote Beza to Diducius) a wicked lecher, a fautor of the Arians, a mocker of Christ and his Church."(d)

'Tis true that Ochín had, on his part, been equally

(a) Ibid. p. 92.—(b) See Florim. p. 175.—(c) De Miss. priv. (d) Fiorim. 296.

severe upon the religionists of Geneva and Zurich ; for in his dialogue against the sect of terrestrial Gods, he thus expressed himself in their regard " These people are desirous that we should hold as an article of faith whatever comes from their brain. He who does not choose to follow them is a heretic. What they dream of in the night (an allusion to Zuinglius) is committed to writing, is printed and held as an oracle. Do not think that they will ever change. So far are they from being disposed to obey the Church, that on the contrary the Church must obey them. Is not this being popes ? Is it not being gods upon earth ? Is it not tyrannizing over the consciences of men ? "

Such were the principal authors of the religious and political excitements that desolated the Church and the world in the 16th century. They were perfectly acquainted with each other ; they had seen one another, had conferred together in different conferences ; they laboured with emulation, if not with unanimity, at the work, which they called reform. It is impossible at the present day to form respecting their doctrine, their characters and persons, more correct notions than those, which they themselves entertained respecting them and which they have transmitted to us. It would therefore be unreasonable in us not to refer to the reciprocal testimonies they have borne to one another. Neither is it less true, that if we go by their own judgements, we cannot but consider them as odious beings and unworthy ministers, whether they have mutually done justice to each other or have calumniated each other. In a word, the only point upon which they agree is to blacken and condemn one another, and it is but too certain that this point, in which they were all agreed, is also the only one upon which they were all right.

You then who have just heard them revealing to the world their own turpitudes, will you continue any longer to take them as your guides, your masters, your fathers in faith ? Hitherto you have only been taught to look upon them as extraordinary beings, endowed with sanctity, virtue, and all the gifts of heaven ; and with this persuasion, you felt proud to call yourselves their disciples and children. You now see your mistake ; you see what they were ; they have told it you themselves. Believe them upon this point, and it is enough to make you abandon them on all others, and to abjure, since you can do it, a descent that must from henceforth be so disgraceful and ignominious in your eyes.

What could religion expect from such men? What profit could the world receive from their preaching? What actually were the effects produced? Here also they shall be our instructors. "The world grows worse and becomes "more wicked every day. Men are now more given to "revenge, more avaricious, more devoid of mercy, less "modest and more incorrigible; in fine more wicked than "in the papacy."(a)

"One thing, no less astonishing than scandalous, is to "see that, since the pure doctrine of the gospel has been "brought again to light, the world daily goes from bad to "worse."(b)

"The noblemen and the peasants are come to such a "pitch, that they boast and proclaim, without scruple, "that they have only to let themselves be preached at, "that they would prefer being entirely disenthralled from "the word of God; and that they would not give a far- "thing for all our sermons together. And how are we to "lay this to them as a crime, when they make no account "of the world to come? They live as they believe: they "are and continue to be swine: they live like swine and "they die like real swine."(c)

Calvin, after declaiming against atheism, which was prevailing above all in the palaces of princes, and in the courts of justice, and the first ranks of his communion. "There remains still (adds he) a wound more deplorable, "The pastors, yes, the pastors themselves who mount the "pulpit are at the present time the most shameful "examples of waywardness and other vices. Hence their "sermons obtain neither more credit nor authority than "the fictitious tales uttered on the stage by the strolling "player. And these persons are yet bold enough to com- "plain that we despise them and point at them for scorn. "As for me I am more inclined to be astonished at the pa- "tience of the people: I am astonished that the women "and children do not cover them with mud and filth."(d)

"Those whom I had known to be pure, full of candour "and simplicity (says one whom no one suspects) these "have I seen afterwards, when gone over to the sect (of "the Evangelicals) begin to speak of girls, flock to games "of hazard, throw aside prayer, give themselves up en- "tirely to their interests, become the most impatient, vin-

(a) Luther in *Postillá sup. I. dom. advent.*—(b) Id. in *Serm. Conviv. German.* fol. 55.—(c) Id. on the 1st Ep. to the Corinthians, ch. xv.—(d) Liv. *sur les scandales*, p. 128.

"dictive, and frivolous; changed in fact from men to vipers. I know well what I say."(a)

"I see many Lutherans, but few Evangelicals. Look a little at these people, and consider whether luxury, avarice, and lewdness do not prevail still more amongst them than amongst those whom they detest. Shew me any one, who by means of his Gospel is become better. I will shew you very many who are become worse. Perhaps it has been my bad fortune; but I have seen none but who are become worse by their Gospel."(b)

"Luther was wont to say that after the revelation of his Gospel, virtue had become extinct, justice oppressed, temperance bound with cords, virtue torn in pieces by the dogs, faith had become wavering, and devotion lost."(c)

It was at that time a saying in Germany, expressive of their going to spend a jovial day in debauch. "*Hodie lutheranice vivemus*: We will spend to day like Lutherans."(d)

"And if the Sovereigns do not evangelize and interpose their authority to appease all these disputes, no doubt the Churches of Christ will soon be infested with heresies, which will ultimately bring on their ruin. By these multiplied paradoxes the foundations of our religion are shaken, heresies crowd into the Churches of Christ, and the way is thrown open to atheism."(e)

"Did any age ever witness persons of each sex and of every age give up themselves, as ours do, to intemperance and the fire of their passions? (said one of the first witnesses of the reform). Men now receive as a divine oracle that saying of Luther's that it is no more possible for a person to restrain his desires than his saliva, nor more easy for man and woman to dispense with one another than for them to go without eating and drinking. Impossible, do you hear it sung on all sides, and in all tones, impossible not to sacrifice to Venus, when the time of life arrives."(f)

"Do we not see at the present day (cries out another witness) youth even giving into debauch, and if they are withdrawn from it, loudly demanding to be married. The young women also, whether already fallen, or only as yet lascivious, are perpetually throwing in

(a) *Erasm. Epist. to the brethren of Lower Germany.*—(b) *Id. Ep. a an. 1526.*—(c) *Aurifer, fol. 623. v. Florim. p. 225.*—(d) *Bened Morgenstern, Traite de l'Eglise, p. 221.*—(e) *Sturm, Ratio ineundæ concord. p. 2, an. 1579.*—(f) *Sylv. Czecanovius de corrupt. morib.*

"your face that impudent sentence of Luther's, that continence is impossible, seeing that Venus is not less necessary than eating; according to the new fashion, children marry and from them no doubt are to spring the valiant champions who are to drive the Turk beyond the Caucasus."(a)

"We are come to such a pitch of barbarity that many are persuaded that if they fasted one single day, they would find themselves dead the night following."(b)

"It is certain that God wishes and requires of his servants a grave and Christian discipline; but it passes with us as a new papacy and a new monkery.(c) We have lately learned (say the religionists of our times,) that we are saved by faith alone in Jesus Christ, without any other help than his merits and the grace of God."—"And, that the world may know they are not papists and that they have no confidence in good works, they perform none. Instead of fasting, they eat and drink day and night, they change prayers into swearing; and this is what they call the re-established Gospel, or the reformation of the Gospel, said Smidelin."

"We are not to be astonished that in Poland, Transylvania, Hungary and other countries, many pass over to Arianism and some to Mahomet; the doctrine of Calvin leads to these impieties."(d)

"Certainly, to speak the truth, there is much more conscientiousness and uprightness among the greatest part of papists than among many protestants. And if we examine past ages, we shall find more sanctity, devotion, zeal, although blind, more charity and fidelity to one another, than is seen at present among us."(f)

"Let them (the Protestants) I say, looke with the eye of charity upon them (the Catholics) as well as severity, and they shall finde some excellent orders of government, some singular helps for increase of godlinesse and devotion, for the conquering of sinne, for the profiting of virtue; and contrariwise, in themselves, looking with a lesse indulgent eye than they doe, they shall finde, there is no such absolute perfection in their doctrine and reformation."(g)

(a) Wigandus, *de bonis et malis German.*—(b) Melancht. on the sixth chapter of St Matthew.—(c) Jacob Andræ, on St. Luke, ch. xxi. 1583—(d) Id. Preface contre l'Apol. de Danæus.

(f) Stubb's motive to good works, p. 43, an. 1596.

(g) A Relation of the state of Religion and with what Hopes and Pollicies it hath beene framed and is maintained in the

This is enough, without adding to these testimonies, those of Capito, Bucer, and Melancthon, who may find place in the following letter, and without transcribing here upon England what is told us by Strype, Camden, Dugdale, and even by Henry VIII in a declaration to his parliament (a).

Such then were the first fruits of the reformation ! and such we learn them to have been from its authors themselves, from its promoters and its first witnesses. (b) Their confessions, their lamentations, wrung from them by the extent and notoriety of the scandal, will eternally proclaim to the world, that with the reform were propagated vices and disorders : that in the countries where it was adopted, and in proportion as it gained ground, devotions was seen to be weakened, piety extinguished, morals deteriorated, faith gradually lost in the multitude, and even among the ministers themselves ; so much so that to this day, in the cradle and centre of Calvinism, at

severall states of the Westerne parts of the world. Sec. 48 By Sir Edwin Sandes, Printed London, 1605.—(a) See Letters of Atticus, p. 64, 65. 3rd edition, London. 1811.—(b) I beg the reader to make also the following remarks : It is a fact that, before the reformation, infidels were scarcely known in the world : it is a fact that they are come forth in swarms from its bosom. It was from the writings of Herbert, Hobbes, Bloum, Shaftesbury, Bolingbroke, and Boyle, that Voltaire and his party drew the objections and errors, which they have brought so generally into fashion in the world. According to Diderot and d'Alembert, the first step that the untractable Catholic takes is to adopt the protestant principle of *private judgment*. He establishes himself judge of his religion, leaves it and joins the reform. Dissatisfied with the incoherent doctrines he then discovers, he passes on to the Socinians, whose inconsequences soon drive him into Deism ; still pursued by unexpected difficulties, he throws himself into universal doubt, where still experiencing uneasiness, he at last resolves to take the last step and proceeds to terminate the long chain of his errors in Atheism. Let us not forget that the first link of this fatal chain is attached to the fundamental maxim of *private judgment*. It is therefore historically correct, that the same principle that created protestantism three centuries ago, has never ceased since that time to spin it out into a thousand different sects, and has concluded by covering Europe with that multitude of free thinkers, who place it on the verge of ruin.

When sects beget infidelity and by infidelity revolutions, it is plain that the political safety of the states will only be secured by a return to religious unity.

Geneva, where they abound, you will scarcely find four or five, (I know it for certain), who will consent to preach the divinity of our Saviour and teach it in their catechetical instructions. And yet there have been persons bold enough to hold out the progress of such a reform as a proof of the divine protection : as if we could acknowledge as its apostles such men as they have reciprocally described themselves to be : as if it could take part in disorders, smile upon the propagation of vice, and favour the decaying of faith and christianity !

LETTER III.

On the Infallibility of the Church.

WE have just seen that unity in faith and government is an absolutely essential dogma, taught by Jesus Christ, by the apostles and their successors from age to age, recognized and set forth in all the Churches and in all the communions of the Christian world. When we are all of us, without exception, once agreed upon admitting the principle, we must of necessity be agreed upon admitting its immediate and necessary consequence, which is, that Jesus Christ has supplied us with some means of preserving and maintaining this unity. For, to oblige us all, under pain of damnation, to have but one baptism and one faith, to form of ourselves but one only body, one only Church, and to leave us without the means or the possibility of arriving at this, would be inconsistent with his providence and justice. Now we all know and we loudly profess that his providence and justice have never been wanting and never will be wanting to man. We are therefore all convinced that Jesus Christ has not left us without the means of being able to fulfil his great commandment. We have only therefore to examine what are the means appointed by him, in order that, following his direction and his wish, we may all with one consent have recourse to them, that we may adopt them with sincerity and attach ourselves exclusively to them.

If each one of us were directed by an immediate revelation, a particular inspiration, there is no doubt that we never should depart from unity. But that this is not the means that providence grants us, no person, how enthusiastic or fanatic soever, can reasonably doubt. Every one sufficiently feels within himself that he is not supplied with this miraculous assistance.

But perhaps Jesus Christ may have left his doctrine to our private interpretation; perhaps it was his wish,

that for the explanation of his dogmas and the understanding of his law we should have no other guide but ourselves, no other judge to attend to but our private opinion. If he had come to establish upon earth a variation in the belief, and a plurality in the government of his Church, well and good: for we have already seen, and soon shall still more plainly see, that the liberty of interpreting just according to our fancy and of preferring and following our own conceits, is the infallible means of introducing disputes, quarrels, and discords, and of multiplying sects *ad infinitum*: it is diametrically opposed to unity, and is therefore proscribed. We are under the necessity of looking out for another means, and we shall never find it except in a supreme authority, that speaks with a tone of authority, which presses equally upon all, which has the right to declare what is revealed and what is not, what we must believe, what we must reject; and which consequently, itself being secured from error, shall protect us from it, by subjecting us to her decisions. This is the powerful, the efficacious, the only means we can conceive capable of holding us together, circumstanced as we are. Without it, it is impossible we should ever be united; with it, impossible we should not always be so: it has therefore been established; we cannot doubt of it. It necessarily follows from the principle of unity as an effect belongs to its cause, and a consequence flows from its principles. Were there no scripture in the world, were there no monument of primitive tradition, we should not on that account be less certain of the institution of this eminent and infallible authority, when once the necessity of being but *one* in belief and in communion is demonstrated to us.

But, thank God, we have the Holy Scripture, we have the unbroken tradition of all centuries, since the preaching of the gospel, from age to age, down to our days; both attesting in the most authentic manner the positive institution of this authority.

I^o Jesus Christ, after his resurrection, appeared again at different times during forty days in the midst of his

* The Holy Scripture.

apostles and disciples, to console them and give them his last instructions, speaking to them of the kingdom of God, which without doubt means his Church, and of its progress and its obstacles, of its combats and its triumphs, of the forms essentially necessary in its hierarchy and government, and of its unavoidable connections with the powers of the world. It was in his last appearance to them, that he announced to his apostles the termination of his mission and the commencement of theirs, when he solemnly addressed them in these important words: 'All power is given me in heaven and on earth. 'Going therefore teach ye all nations teaching them 'to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: 'and behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world.'^a What an authority to go and instruct! Never was such given to man before. It comes to them from the Almighty himself, and subjects the whole human race to them. What security, what confidence is there not given to their teaching by this only word, *I am with you!* Go, fear nothing: let men and devils rise up against you, their efforts, their illusions shall not prevail: I hold them under my hand: all power is given to me in heaven and on earth, and, by virtue of this power, from this moment I stand by your side, and shall unceasingly remain with you, without the least interruption, even of a single day, to the end of time. A potentate may assemble his ministers, and say to them, Go, bear my orders to all my empire, inform my people of them: he has a right to do so, he can do it: But is there one who could say, Inform *all nations* of them? Such a command could only come from him to whom the whole human race was subjected. And again, should this potentate have conquered the universe, would he presume to add: *I am with you even to the consummation of the world*; he who is feeble and mortal as ourselves, he whose power expires with his life, and is buried in the same tomb with him? This promise becomes Jesus Christ alone, and truly shews us what he is. He made it like a master; he keeps it like a god. By this promise he secures his Church against all error in

^a St. Matth. XXVIII. v. 18.

its doctrine, and ensures the perpetuity of its existence, and its indefectibility to the end of time. Already has this promise preserved his Church against earth and hell for nearly two thousand years; and this without doubt is sufficient to convince us, that it will support it even to the consummation of the world, come when it may.

He had formerly said to the chief of his apostles, when he took from him the name he had till then borne, to give him one that was symbolical and mysterious: 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it'^a and to his apostles in general; 'And I will ask the Father, and he shall give you another Paraclete.....the Spirit of truth.....'^b When he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he 'will teach you all truth.'^c These passages are so clear, that at the first glance they must immediately discover to us the stability of the edifice he proposed to raise (an edifice not to be overturned by all the powers of hell,) and the inamissable purity of doctrine in his Church, with which the spirit of all truth is to reside for ever.

I am not surprised that, intending the Apostles to represent him one day, and reserving for them a tutelary and continual assistance from on high, he should in the course of his preaching, have said to them, and also to the sixty-two disciples: 'He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me.'^d A simple expression this, but yet vigorous enough to put forth at one single stroke and in the highest degree, on the one side, the authority to teach, and, on the other, the duty to obey. After this striking and peremptory word: '*He who despiseth you, despiseth me,*' how are we to account for the blindness and impiety of those Christians who afterwards had the face to despise this their doctrine? We learn moreover from St. Matthew,^e that our Saviour sometimes sent off the apostles to announce in the towns and cities of Judea, that the kingdom of heaven was at hand: 'And whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your words; going forth out of that house or city, shake off the dust from your feet.' And what

^a St. Matth. ch. XVI. v. 18.—^b St. John, ch. XIV. V. 16—

^c Ibid. ch. XVI. v. 13.—^d St. Luke, ch. X. v. 16,—^e Ch. X. v. 14.

shall be the punishment of those who refuse the instructions of the apostles? Let us hear it from Jesus Christ. 'Amen, I say to you, it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrha in the day of Judgment, than for that city.' This oracle, proceeding from a God-man, is sufficient to terrify us. Let those consider it and apply it, who persist with their forefathers in shutting their ears against instructions and rejecting the authority that has a right to instruct them.

I know that, in their defence, they have said that these menaces against the refractory on the one hand, and this absolute and infallible authority on the other, must be limited to the persons of the apostles and to the period of their ministry, and not be extended to their successors and to future ages. But that they may no longer attempt to persuade you of this, remark well, I intreat you, the words by which the transmission of these same prerogatives and those same powers, and the perpetuity of them in the Church are forcibly declared. In fact, did not Jesus Christ say: 'I am with you even to the consummation of the world?' did he not say: 'The gates of hell shall not prevail against it?' did he not say: 'The spirit of truth shall remain with you for ever?' It is the apostles therefore in the first place, and in the succession of ages those, who were to succeed them in the plentitude of the priesthood, that he appoints as his ministers, his ambassadors, his representatives to continue and consummate his work.

Let us never be afraid to repeat to ourselves; it is glorious, it is profitable to contemplate in its origin the ministry it has pleased our Saviour to create and leave after him: for in this he truly appears as a Sovereign, as a God. He sends the ministers of his word as he had been sent, to whom all power had been given in heaven and on earth. Whither does he send them? To all nations: to every creature shall they bear his word, that is, as he himself explains it, all his commandments; all, without restriction. But will they be heard? There is a command for all the world to receive them, and a prohibition under pain of everlasting and most rigorous torments, for any one whatsoever, to despise them. And now, with this strict obligation on our part of submitting

to their authority, it was the part of justice that there should not be the possibility of error or of deception to be apprehended from them : and accordingly never will hell be permitted to prevail against their instructions, and the Church which they have to establish ; the divine Spirit presides eternally over it, to teach it all truth ; and their doctrine, always incorruptible, shall be perpetuated from age to age, with the world for its boundaries, and time for its duration. Such is the command and the desire of our Legislator, to whom alone it belonged to command its execution.^a

^a Never was an order so faithfully executed, never were instructions followed by so indefatigable a zeal. At first the Apostles preach in Jerusalem and in Judea. They speak with an authority that imposes and astonishes. Although poor, simple and modest, nothing intimidates them. The spirit, with which they are animated, raises them above human considerations. To the little, to the great, before the people, before magistrates, in the synagogues, and the sanhedrim, they deliver themselves with the same firmness, the same tone of confidence, of superiority, and supreme dominion. Assembled in counsel they hesitate not to pronounce in their own name, and in the name of God : "It hath appeared good to the Holy Ghost and to us." Thus do they write at the head of their decree. From Judea they spread themselves over the world : some proceed straight to the centre of the empire and settle there ; others to its principal towns ; others penetrate to its utmost extremities, some even beyond, and reach as far as India.

Every where do they announce the kingdom of God, every where do they establish the government that Jesus Christ had traced out for them, and which in their turn they again trace out for their disciples, with an injunction to transmit it to their successors. The divine master had said to them :—"Teach all nations to observe whatsoever I have commanded you:" and St. Paul says to the inhabitants of Miletus and Ephesus : "I take you to witness this day I have not spared to declare to you all the counsel of God."^(a)

He had told them that he should be with them to the end of ages, which necessarily supposes an unbroken chain of successors ; and in all places where the word fructifies they establish bishops. "Take heed to the whole flock wherein the Holy Ghost hath placed you bishops, to rule the Church of God."^(b) They confer upon them the powers with which they themselves are invested, with an injunction to transmit them in their

(a) Acts, ch xx, v. 26.—(b) Ibid. v. 23.

It seems to me impossible for any one, who is not obstinately blind, not to recognize in the Testament of our

turn: "I left thee in Crete that thou shouldst ordain "bishops in every city, as I also, appointed thee a "bishop must be without crime." (a)

Jesus Christ had said to them: "As my Father hath sent me so "do I send you," and they carry themselves as his ministers; "Let a man so account of us as of the ministers of Christ;" (b) and again, "For Christ therefore we are ambassadors, God as it "were, exhorting by us." (c) Undoubtedly the ambassadors of such a master forcibly felt the dignity of their character and knew how to assume the language belonging to it. "These "things speak, and exhort and rebuke with all authority. Let "no man despise thee." (d)

And because authority falls away where obedience ceases, the apostles had been admonished, that they were, in case of refusal and opposition, to shake the dust from off their feet, and that the refractory would be treated more severely than Sodom and Gomorrah. The apostles also warned the faithful of the submission they owed to their bishops:—"Remember "your prelates, who have spoken the word of God to you; "whose faith follow." (f) And you, Sir, remember here your supreme governess expelling the bishops, who were preaching the word of God, rejecting, instead of following their faith. "Obey your prelates and be subject to them" (e) Call to your mind, moreover your ancestors of 1558, and all those, who elsewhere called themselves reformers and reformed.

Jesus Christ had said to his apostles: "He that heareth you, "heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me." And the apostles, sanctioning by the same motive the deference they required of the first faithful to the instructions of their bishops; "He that despiseth (said they) these things, despiseth "not man, but God, who also hath given his Holy Spirit in us." (g) What a contrast between the submission and respect commanded by the scripture towards bishops, and the insubordination and contempt of the reformers towards one another. We will not here repeat the painful narrative of it—both you and I have too often heard it. But let us at least learn from scripture, what conduct they ought to have adopted. They should have had recourse to the successors of Peter, to the successors of the apostles, and to them they should have addressed the same language that Cornelius, his family and his friends formerly addressed to Peter. "Now therefore, all we are pre-
"sent in thy sight, to hear all things whatsoever are command-

(a) Titus, ch. i, v. 5.—(b) I Corin. ch. iv, v. 1.—(c) 2 Corin. ch. v, v. 20.—(d) Titus, ch. ii, v. 15.—(e) Hebrews, ch. xiii, v. 7.
(f) Ibid. v. 17.—(g) Thessal. ch. iv, v. 8.

Saviour, on the one hand, the establishment of a spiritual authority, always guided by the spirit of truth in every thing pertaining to revelation, and consequently incapable of leading us astray in the doctrine attributed to it; and on the other hand, the duty of submission and obedience to the instructions belonging to this authority. We are certain (for it would be blasphemy to doubt that a God-man would fulfil his promise) we are certain that this infallible doctrine, whatever changes take place in the affairs of the world, will never depart from his Church. As to obedience and submission they never will cease to be a duty. But the observation of this, as well as all other duties, depends upon the free will and liberty of man. What is certain and as clear as the light of the sun, is that all those who fulfil this duty of obedience to the instructions of the spiritual authority, can never be divided, when once this authority has spoken. What is certain and as clear as the sun, is that by their submission to its word it must necessarily follow, that they remain united together in the same Church and the same faith. The authority given by Jesus Christ to his apostles and their successors is therefore the means that he has established, and that we were looking for, to conduct to him, to cement in one body and in one and the same belief, the people of all nations, of all countries, and of all ages.

And in fact, that such actually was the intention of our divine Legislator, we learn positively and in distinct terms from the apostle St. Paul. The passage I am going to quote from his epistle to the Ephesians, deserves your particular attention. 'And he gave some apostles, and some prophets, and other some evangelists, and other some pastors and doctors, for the perfection of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ that henceforth we be no more children tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the wickedness of men, by cunning

"ed thee by the Lord."(e) This is what the respect enjoined by the scripture commanded them to do: you know what they did do.

(a) Acts, ch. x. v. 33.

'ning craftiness by which they lie in wait to deceive.' St. Paul, you see, here reveals to us the interior thoughts of Jesus Christ, his wish, his positive intention in giving us his apostles, and after them the bishops, often designated by St. Paul under the name of pastors, doctors, and priests. For what reason did he establish their ministry? To assemble his saints from all parts of the world, and by their union to raise the edifice of his Church and his mystical body. And how long was the ministry of the pastors to be continued? Until all people drawn by their teaching become members of this great body, and meet successively in the union of faith to the end of the world. Thus the flocking to the same Church, adherence to the same body, agreement to the same faith are the effect, the aim, and object of the ministry established by Jesus Christ.

The conclusion of the passage confirms what has been said in a still more forcible manner. For, following two metaphors of St. Paul, Jesus Christ has given us the ministry of the pastors, in order that, being strengthened by their instructions, we may not float about in uncertainty, like children who, when left to themselves, go as chance leads them to the right or to the left without knowing where to direct their steps; and that 'we may not be tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine.' The doctrine of our conductors is for us, therefore, a solid and weighty anchor. Let us hold fast to this anchor, and let the winds, and tempests, and the waves work their pleasure. We shall, undoubtedly, be always agitated, but never shall we be drawn away. The immovable anchor will firmly keep us within sight of port, and uniformly directed among ourselves towards one and the same centre. As for those, who being deceived by the artifices and seductions of some individuals shall withdraw from this powerful support to follow them, you will see them become the sport of the winds, having no longer any guide but their own fancy, always uncertain on a rough ocean, wandering from error to error, and, in the confusion of opinions, not knowing what course to steer, some disappear at last un-

* Ch. iv, v. 11, 12, 13.

der the waves, and others rush distractedly into a labyrinth of endless errors. This is the history of the Church and of all the sects that have separated from it; and St. Paul's doctrine is found to be correct by the experience of eighteen hundred years.

2^o "But if in the small number of writings that we have upon the preaching of our Saviour and of his apostles, we find such manifest proofs of infallibility, how much more striking and more multiplied proofs must they have had, who had the happiness to hear Jesus Christ, and, after him, his disciples, explain themselves upon this important article! We know that the sacred writers have given but a very succinct account of what was said and done by our Saviour and by themselves. St. John^b goes so far as to declare that if they desired to to give the full detail, the world would scarcely contain the books that must be written. These words that we read upon the promises made to the Churches should therefore be regarded as some straggling evidences. They are sufficient indeed to command our belief; but they must have been more repeated and more developed by the living voice of Jesus Christ. In fact, by imposing upon some the obligation of teaching, and on others that of hearing, he must necessarily have guaranteed all against the danger of deceiving, or of being deceived. By enjoining them above all things to preserve unity among themselves from one end of the world to the other, Jesus Christ must strongly have insisted upon the only means which would keep them together, and in their turn the apostles must have repeated it over and over again in every place to which they carried the word of the gospel. They must have explained to the bishops, as they established them, that the right and obligation of instructing would in all ages attach to the episcopal body of the Church: that decisions made by it should become for the people a rule of faith, manifest and at the same time unshakeable, by the power of the Holy Spirit. It is even to be supposed that the apostles would have carried their solicitude so far as to explain the manner in which they might one day have a mutual understanding

^a Tradition of the first ages.—^b Gospel. Last verse.

and act in concert with one another, according to the circumstances in which it should please heaven to place the Churches, in the exercise of their authority and the promulgation of their doctrine. These considerations convince me, that, of its own nature, the dogma of infallibility must have been a dogma the most clearly known from the first times of the Church. Nevertheless I make no difficulty in confessing that we do not discover so many traces of it in the three first ages as in those that follow. They are not, however, devoid of them, and some of them you shall be made acquainted with. If they are not to be found so frequently, beside that there remain but few monuments of these distant times, I shall moreover give you two particular reasons for it. Whatever certainty there should exist, at that time, that from the concurrence of the bishops there would result an infallible opinion, there was no necessity of having recourse to it to condemn heresies so evidently contrary to faith, as were those of the first ages, that we know not which to be most astonished at, the audacity or the extravagance of their authors. It was a most simple and easy thing for every teacher to refute such opinions on the ground of their manifest opposition to the doctrine just established by the apostles. The whole of the first age was filled with their disciples; the second possessed many of them, and those who were not had been for the most part instructed by the immediate successors of these disciples. Thus the world was still echoing with the voice and doctrine of the apostles: the remembrance of them was fresh and present to the minds of the faithful. Their seats, to use the expression of Tertullian, still spoke: it was sufficient in those times to say to the innovators; "The apostles taught not so; they wrote not so: your doctrine is not theirs; this is the first time we have heard such; it is false, it is impious." The second reason is the impossibility there existed during the fire of persecutions, for the bishops to assemble and to pronounce decisions in common, and to give at that time to the world splendid proofs of their authority. In those days of researches and of blood, there were no other means of meeting novelties but by private condemnations, in which, nevertheless, the

bishops discover to us unequivocal traces of their opinion of their infallibility. Every one who then thought proper to dogmatise to gain credit for his foolish ideas, was marked by the diocesan bishop, who admonished him of his error, charitably reprov'd him, refuted, threatened, and at last condemned him. The affair then passed from one to another, and according to the facility of circumstances to the neighbouring bishops, to those of the province to those of the apostolic Churches, and with more eagerness and deference still to him, who presided upon the eminent chair of the prince of the apostles.

For the greater part of the time it was from this principal see that the condemnation came, which from the centre of unity reached in every sense to the farthest extremities. The bishops adhered to it by a consent either expressed or tacit, and their separate approbations formed in their great re-union, the irrefragable decision of the dispersed Church: the dogma was settled, and the refractory innovator from that time marked out to all the faithful, as he would be in our days after a similar sentence. under the disgraceful name of *heretic*. Thus in the second age were Saturninus, Basilides, Valentinus, Carpocrates, Cerdo and Marcion, condemned and stigmatized as corruptors of the faith.*

* It would be an historical error to imagine that the Churches were then isolated, without communication together, and unknown to one another, whereas from their very origin they tended to nothing but to be united together, being mutually known and of support to one another. Call to mind the circumstances of Fortunatus going to Rome to implore the authority of the Pope in the disturbance that had commenced at Corinth; of Clement, who sends him back with four deputies to labour in re-establishing order and peace; of Polycarp going in person, at his advanced time of life, to confer with the pope Anicetus upon matters of discipline; of Ignatius writing seven epistles to different Churches during the long rout, which conducted him to martyrdom, and begging of them to send trusty priests to his Church at Antioch to console it on his absence, and soon, on his death. The following is the address of a letter written on occasion of the martyrdom of Polycarp, as found in Eusebius. "The Church of God which is at Smyrna salutes "all persons of the holy Catholic Church spread throughout "the world." In the year 166.—Eusebius has moreover pre-

In less stormy periods, and when the Church had a respite under milder and more humane Emperors, the bishops assembled together, as far as circumstances permitted, and pronounced authoritatively upon whatever belonged to faith. We learn this from the following very remarkable passage of Tertullian : “ According to “ a prescribed ordinance, from all the Churches, there “ are in certain places of Greece councils assembled, in “ which the most important affairs are discussed publicly “ in common ; and this representation of the whole “ Christian name obtains amongst us the greatest veneration.”^a Eusebius, speaking of the first ages, observes, “ that, at the birth of heresy, all the bishops of “ the world rose up to extinguish the fire.”^b The ambitious Montanus aspires to pass for the paraclete promised by Jesus Christ.^c He seduces, by the austerity of his manners and of his precepts, and by the imposing style of his prophecies. The bishops of Asia assemble

served for us the letter of the Churches of Vienna and Lyons to the Churches of Asia and Phrygia on the martyrdom of Pothinus, Attalus, of Sabina and their companions, in 177. Even from the time of the apostles, a correspondence was opened among all the Churches and was frequent. St. Paul praises the Romans, “ because their faith was spoken of in the whole “ world, (a) and because their obedience was published in every place.” (b) He begs them to salute his fellow-labourers, Prisca and Aquila, who had for his life laid down their own necks, to whom not only he gave thanks, but also all the Churches of the Gentiles. (c) From Asia Minor, St. John, according to ancient tradition, addressed his first epistle to the Parthians, who were so remote from him and out of the Roman Empire. St. Peter wrote to the Christians of Pontus, Gallatia, Cappadocia, of Asia, Bythinia, and in fine, to all the faithful of the dispersion. St. James and St. Jude addressed their epistles to all the dispersed tribes, to all those who preserved themselves in God and in Jesus Christ.

(a) Ch. i. v. 8.—(b) Ch. xvi. v. 19.—(c) Ibid, v. 4,

^a Treatise on fasting, ch. XIII. It is to the councils here made mention of by Tertullian, that the learned Beveridge, with as much sagacity as correctness, attributes the most ancient apostolic canons. See his opinion on the apostolical canons, No. 8, in Cotelier, t. I. p. 430.—^b Ecclesiast. History, book II. ch. XXV.—^c In the year 131 under Marcus Aurelius.

frequently at Hierapolis,* and, after much precaution and a long examination, pronounce the prophecies of Montanus to be false and profane, as also those of Priscilla and Maximilla, who had left their husbands to join the extravagances of the impostor: they condemn their doctrine and their errors, and cut them off from the communion of the Church.

In 255, when peace was restored to the Christians under the Emperor Gallus, many of those who had fallen in the late persecutions demanded the peace, and the communion of the Church, and were received into it, after having undergone the rigours of the public penance. Novatian, a priest of a stern and harsh character, is indignant at the condescension that is shewn to these weak and cowardly creatures, maintains that absolution cannot be granted to those, who have fallen into idolatry, and separates from Pope Cornelius, whose see he even desires to usurp: a synod of sixty bishops condemns him at Rome, and expels him from the Church.

Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch in 262, to draw to the Christian religion Queen Zenobia, attempts to reduce the mysteries to intelligible ideas, and attacks the mystery of the Trinity, by denying the divinity of our Saviour. The bishops of the province take alarm, flock a second time to Antioch, condemn the errors of Paul, depose him from his see, and with one voice excommunicate him. Paul, under the protection of Zenobia, obstinately persists in not quitting his see, until such time as Aurelian, becoming master of Antioch, ordains that the episcopal residence shall belong to him, to whom the bishops of Rome address their letters; judging, adds Theodoret, that he, who submits not to the sentence of those of his religion, ought to have nothing more to do in common with them.

These examples, to which others might easily be added, prove that from the first ages the bishops pronounced decidedly upon what pertained to faith, declared what was revealed and what was not, cut off from the Church those who refused to obey them, and exiled them among heretics and infidels, by pronouncing anathema upon

* In 181 under Commodus.

them. And it was not because these men had taught erroneous doctrines, but because they did not submit to the authority of their ecclesiastical superiors, because they persisted in their opinions after they had been condemned and raised themselves as contumacious rebels against the decision of the bishops. 'The proud and the contumacious are struck unto death, by the spiritual sword (said St. Cyprian,) when they were cut off from the Church.'^a Now to inflict spiritual death on proud spirits, and to devote the contumacious to eternal damnation, it was necessary that the bishops should know all their rights, that they should be convinced they could not be mistaken in their decisions; it was necessary that they should be assured that Jesus Christ was with them, that the spirit of truth never would abandon them, and that, according to the order of their master, whoever did not hear them, deserved to be treated as a heathen and a publican. Far from suspecting these venerable bishops, of not knowing their authority, one would be much rather tempted to accuse them of having exaggerated it, and extended it beyond its bounds, by attributing to their scanty synods an infallibility which had only been given to the entire body of bishops. But it must be observed that the opinions it condemned in these first synods, had already been condemned by the apostles; that, perhaps also, this small number of assembled bishops knew to a certainty the doctrine of their absent brethren, and that at all events, the acceptance of these would take place in due time, and conclude by adding to the weight of the synodical sentences the last seal of infallibility.^b

^a "Spirituali gladio superbi et contumaces necantur, dum de ecclesiâ ejiciuntur." Ep LXII.

^b Eusebius (a) teaches us that the council of Antioch, after having condemned Paul of Samosata, addressed a synodical letter to Dionysius, bishop of Rome: to Maximus, bishop of Alexandria; to all the bishops, all the priests and all the deacons of the world, and to the whole Catholic Church under heaven.

"The faithful who were in Asia (says Eusebius again) assembled many times and in many parts of Asia, and, having examined the doctrine of Montanus, they condemned it; on

The facts I have just adduced speak for themselves. The bishops have displayed their authority in all its pos-

"which account these heretics were driven from the Church and deprived of Catholic communion." "One might be surprised" observes the learned Thomassin, (a) "that Eusebius, after saying that the Montanists were condemned by all the Catholic Churches, is satisfied with proving this by the councils that were held in Asia. ... But the Churches of Asia were living in communion and in perfect understanding with the other Catholic Churches of the world; they had been informed that these revoltors were equally displeasing to the other Churches as to themselves. The silence of the other Churches confirmed the examination and decision of the Churches of Asia."

"Pope Cornelius wrote a letter to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, in which he informed him what resolutions had been agreed to, by the council and by all the bishops of Italy and Africa, besides those of many other provinces. They had also published the letters of St. Cyprian and of the other bishops of Africa who were assembled." (b)

Saint Alexander, after having assembled a council at Alexandria, in which Arius and his first adherents were condemned with unanimous voice, wrote to all the bishops a synodal letter, of which Theodoret has preserved us a copy. He lays open the proceedings and the doctrine of his council. Among other things he says, "We all profess one only Catholic and apostolic Church, always invincible, although all the world conspire to make war upon it, and victorious over all the impious attempts of the heretics, placing her confidence on the word of the Father of the family, *Take courage, I have conquered the world.*" And now see how he concludes. "Condemn them with us after the example of your brethren, who have written to me and subscribed to the note which I sent you together with their letters. There are some from all Egypt, from Thebais, from Lybia, Pentapolis, Syria, Pamphylia, Asia, Cappadocia, and the neighbouring provinces. I am expecting to receive similar letters from you; for after many other medicines, I am led to think that the agreement of the bishops could complete the cure of those whom they have led astray." (c)

He sent these decrees to all the Churches, and from their unity they acquired their final strength. This is the remark of Bossuet upon the decision just adduced to the synod of Alexandria against Arius. *Hist. of the Variations*. Book VII. Art. 69.

(a) *Traite dogm. et hist. des moyens dont on s'est servi pour maintenir l'unité dans tous les temps*. Ch. II. Art. 7.—(b) Eusebius, Book VI. on *Novatian*.—(c) Athan. I. *Disc. against Arius*.

sible extent; the faithful have recognised it by complying with the sentences passed upon the heretics, with whom they ceased from that time to hold any communication. Thus the usage and the practice of the primitive church sufficiently prove that the dogma of infallibility was recognised in it. We see, moreover, in the few writings that are come down to us from these times, that the fathers considered this dogma as a truth generally established.

Let us return to the beautiful epistles of St. Ignatius, of which I spoke in my preceding letter. • While among you, I loudly called upon you and said: Be united to the bishop.^a Avoid divisions as the source of evils: all of you follow the bishops, as Jesus Christ follows his Father.^b You see the episcopal authority marked out as the means of preserving unity—I bid you farewell in Jesus Christ. Be submissive to the bishops and the priests, according to the command of God.^c I exhort you to do every thing in divine concord, the bishop presiding in the place of God.^d It is still to the episcopal chair that he attaches the bond of unity. • You must concur with the aid of the bishops, as you do: for your worthy priests are in harmony with them, like the chords of a lyre, and your union forms a wonderful harmony. • Take care, therefore, not to resist the bishop, that you may be subject to God; for all those whom the Father of the family sends for the government of his house, you ought to receive as you would him that sends them.^e We will not press the words of Saint Ignatius so far as to conclude that he attached infallibility individually to each bishop. Those of whom he speaks were personally known to him. He knew that their doctrine was pure and conformable with the universal doctrine; that union reigned between them and the priests, between them and all those whom the Father of the family had sent for the government of his house. Now this unity would have ceased, immediately that a bishop taught any dogma contrary to the received doc-

^a To the Philadelphians.—^b To the Christians of Smyrna.

^c To the Christians of Tralles.—^d To the Christians of Magnesia.—^e To the Ephesians.

trine of the Church, as we have seen in the case of Paul of Samosata, condemned and deposed by his brethren. Thus, then, when we come to analyze the matter, we find, that it was upon the conformity with the general doctrine of the bishops, that Saint Ignatius founded. on the one hand, the particular authority of each bishop, and, on the other, the entire submission he required to be paid to them by the people ; and, by a more remote consequence, it appears necessary, according to his principles, that the doctrine of the great majority of the bishops must have been infallible, otherwise the faithful, by conforming themselves to the bishops according to the command of God, might have been drawn into error, without any means of being preserved from it. In a word, if we understand the doctrine of this great man, he teaches us that the unity of the Church depends upon the submission of the faithful to their particular bishop, and on the agreement of the bishops among themselves, that is to say, that the supreme authority given to the body of the bishops is the safeguard of unity. We find the same doctrine taught one hundred and forty years afterwards by the illustrious doctor and martyr of Carthage. ‘The ‘Catholic Church is one,’ wrote Saint Cyprian, ‘and the ‘bishops joined together are the bonds of this union.’^a These few words comprise the whole subject of this and the preceding letter: they give you in abridgment the entire theory of the unity and the infallibility of the Church.^b

Fifty years before Saint Cyprian, Irenæus,^c a disciple of Saint John through Polycarp and Papias, and, after the martyrdom of Saint Pothinus, second bishop of Lyons, wrote his great work *Upon Heresies*. Hear what he says in Book IV. ch. XLIII: ‘For this reason we must

^a Ep. XXXIII. . . ^b “There is but one episcopacy spread on all sides in many bishops united together.” Cyprian, in his *Ep. to Antodrianus*, bishop of Africa, and again, in his book *On Unity*; “The Catholic Church is united in all its parts and consolidated by the cement (glutino) of the bishops adhering to one another. We, who are bishops and who preside in the Church, we ought particularly and more closely to embrace and defend this unity.” . . . ^c Born in 120, martyred under Marcus Aurelius in 203.

‘obey those who preside in the Church, who hold their
 ‘succession from the apostles, as we have shewn, and
 ‘who, with the succession of the episcopacy, have re-
 ‘ceived the certain grace of truth, according to the good
 ‘pleasure of the Father.’ Where the certain grace of
 truth is found, there, assuredly, no error is to be appre-
 hended: and there, of course, must be found infallibility.
 And again in the XLV. chapter of the same book, speak-
 ing of the successors of the apostles, he adds: ‘It is they,
 ‘who preserve the faith that we hold of God alone, who
 ‘made all things; they who expound to us the scriptures,
 ‘without danger of errors.’ Let us then boldly follow
 their exposition of scripture, confident as we are with
 Saint Irenæus, that we can never go astray, while we
 follow their steps, nor fall into error, while we adopt
 their interpretations.

Tertullian,* so celebrated for his writings, and above
 all for his excellent book on the *Prescriptions* against
 the heretics, addresses them in the following ironical
 strain. “Well! then, for your satisfaction, we will
 ‘suppose that all the Churches have fallen in error! . . .
 ‘not one of them has been looked upon by the Holy
 ‘Spirit; not one directed in truth by the Spirit which
 ‘Christ had sent, and which he had asked of his Father
 ‘to be for his people the teacher of truth! This agent
 ‘of God, this vicar of Christ has then we will suppose
 ‘neglected his ministry, by permitting the Churches
 ‘to think and believe otherwise, than he had himself
 ‘announced to them by the mouth of his apostles.”
 Tertullian observed in this passage that, according
 to the heretics, it would follow that all the Churches
 had fallen into error, because they all were agreed upon
 the articles, which the heretics rejected. He sets off
 the absurdity of such a supposition, by introducing
 the perpetual assistance of the Holy Spirit, promised
 to the Church by Jesus Christ. It was his belief there-
 fore that the Church was always guided in the truth
 by the Holy Spirit, and under its influence always
 secure from error: and this his belief was founded
 upon the same reason and the same promises that have

* Died in 216.

induced the belief of it in all christian ages before and after.

If I have prolonged the discussion of the three first ages, it is because they are in general less known, because it was necessary to shew that the promises of Jesus Christ, being then more recent, must on that account have been more lively in the remembrance of men; because the bishops who illustrated the rising Church were well acquainted with the rights and obligations of their ministry, and because, to discover with more splendour the dogma of infallibility, with which their minds were profoundly impressed, nothing more was wanting in those times than the appearance of favourable circumstances. These circumstances did at last appear when Providence called Constantine^a to the throne, and seated religion on it with him. Soon were the bishops of the whole world beheld assembling at Nice,^b where the doctrine of Arius was solemnly condemned and banished. The doctrine of Macedonius was afterwards treated in the same manner at the general council of Constantinople,^c that of Nestorius at Ephesus:^d that of Eutychites at Chalcedon.^e It would be superfluous to mention all the œcumenical councils that distinguished the following ages up to the council of Trent. Let but an attentive observation be made of the circumstances, and motives which caused the convocation of these councils, the manner of proceeding adopted by the fathers in them and the reception their decrees met with in the world, and it will be perceived that in all ages there prevailed a general persuasion that the episcopal authority was the means instituted by Jesus Christ to preserve unity among all his disciples, and that the opinions adopted by the majority of the bishops are for all an infallible rule of faith. It would be tedious to pursue in detail this examination of the councils: let us confine ourselves to that of Nice.

Arius, being condemned by a synod at Alexandria, makes his complaint to several bishops in other parts, explains to them his principles, declares his submission,

^aIn 306. Proclaimed afterwards at Rome, by the Senate, first Augustus, 313.—^bIn 325.—^cIn 381.—^dIn 431.—^eIn 451.

implores their light and assistance, succeeds in making himself some friends, some protectors and a great number of proselytes: his cause soon becomes alarming on account of the seditions, tumults, and murders which it occasions. Constantine endeavours to apply a remedy to it, but fails in his attempt. In the meantime, the flame is still on the increase, and the Emperor, together with the bishops whom he consults, sees no other means of extinguishing it, besides the authority of a general council. He convokes it at Nice. Upon the news of this, the minds of men become calm, parties relent, each one flatters himself that he shall soon see his cause triumph, and remains at peace in the expectation of the definitive decision to be pronounced at Nice. Hither assemble from Europe, Africa and Asia, patriarchs, metropolitans and bishops, to the number of 318, and in their attendance a great number of doctors, and at the head of all, the celebrated Osius of Cordova, as proxy for Sylvester, the head of the Church. Arius is cited to appear—many of his partisans were there already. He comes in person to give an account of his opinions. You see, so far the universal opinion well proved. Every thing bows before the authority that is going to pronounce sentence. Arius and his party pay homage to it, and submit beforehand. The august and venerable senate opens its sessions, Constantine appears in all his imperial pomp. I pray you, remark this passage, in the answer he gives to an harangue that had just been addressed to him in the name of all the fathers. ‘The rage of division spreading through the minds and penetrating the hearts of men, excites them one against the other, troubles peace, ruins faith by rendering it uncertain, fills the country with disorder and tumults, and after all this, exposes religion to the contempt, the ridicule, and the blasphemy of our adversaries (the pagans), who take occasion from thence to tear it in pieces. To remedy so great an evil, I have thought nothing to be so powerful as the whole Church acting with authority in this holy assembly that represents it.’

^a Eusebius, Sozomen, Theodoret, Nicephorus.

The first business, the council entered upon, was that of Arius.^a It sets about it with that maturity and wisdom that was to be expected from so great and learned an assembly, in which also were sitting a great number of confessors of the faith, mutilated in the persecution of Licinius and covered with scars, which Constantine kissed with respect. Arius and his doctrine were unanimously condemned, the consubstantiality of the Word recognised and fixed to the immortal symbol, which is still to this day repeated by all Christians. The fathers of Nice, at the end of their labours, addressed a synodal letter to all the Churches under heaven, to notify their decisions and to offer them to the acceptance of all the Bishops in the world. In it they say; 'that with one voice it had been resolved to anathemize Arius and his impious doctrine.' They had already presented the decree of his condemnation to the Emperor,^b who had received it with the highest veneration as if it had been drawn up by heaven itself and had been sent to him on the part of God: he added, that whoever would not submit should be banished as a rebel to a divine decision. This menace reduced to obedience Arius and the fautors of his doctrine, who till then had refused to subscribe to the decision of the council. Constantine afterwards dispatched two letters, one encyclical, addressed to the Churches in general, the other to the Church of Alexandria, where the heresy had first appeared. In the first are found these words: 'Whatever is done in the councils of the bishops ought to be considered as the will of God.' And in the second, after enumerating the tumults, discords, and schisms that the heresy had produced, he adds: 'It was in order to put an end to all these that, by the will of God, I assembled so great a number of bishops at Nice.' And at the conclusion: 'What three hundred bishops have ordained is nothing else than the sentence of the only Son of God: the Holy Spirit has declared the will of God by means of these great men, whom he inspired. Therefore let no

^a See the *Histoire de l'Arianisme*. Liv. 1. Maimbourg.—^b Rufinus, Gelasius.

one doubt, let no one delay; but all of you return in good earnest into the way of truth.^a Before he dismissed them, he re-assembled the bishops in his palace, where he delivered to them an excellent discourse to recommend to them the peace of the Church, which they would preserve by preserving inviolably, amongst themselves, a perfect union of mind and heart, in unity of doctrine and sentiment, conformably with what the Holy Spirit had just established by their means in the council.^b

Eusebius, of Cesarea,^c who a long time opposed the word consubstantial, afterwards wrote the life of Constantine, in which he praises his indefatigable zeal to secure the superiority of that salutary faith, which the Holy Spirit himself had truly promulgated by the holy fathers assembled at Nice.

After the condemnation of Arius, they examined the question of the paschal solemnity; all the fathers agreed to observe it on the same day, and the orientals promised to conform to the practice of all the other Churches, that is to say, of Italy, of Africa of Lybia, of Egypt, of Spain, Gaul, Britain, Greece, Asia, and Pontus. 'The council of Nice,' says Athanasius, in his apology, 'has been doubly useful, because the people of Syria, Lybia, Mesopotamia, had not been accustomed to celebrate the pasch on the proper day, and because the Arian heresy had arisen against the Church. The catholic world assembled in council. The day of the pasch was regulated for all, and Arianism was condemned. It is true that for the day of the pasch they used these terms, it hath seemed good to us, after the example of the apostles, in order that all the world may obey—but to regulate faith they said: the Catholic Church believes; and immediately they add the entire confession, to shew that it was not a new doctrine, but that of the apostles, and that what they

^a Thus it was that the decision of the council was proposed as a divine oracle, after which there was nothing more to be examined: for we are not to doubt that these letters of the Emperor were dictated by the bishops, or at least drawn up according to their instructions. This is the reflection made by the judicious Fleury, after introducing the letters of the Emperor. *Hist. Eccles.* t. 1. p. 129. edit. in 4to.—^b *Hist. de l'Arianisme*,—^c Euseb. Sozom,

‘had put down in writing was not their own invention
‘but derived from the apostles.’

But if afterwards Arius and some of his adherents retracted their word and the obedience they had sworn, the passions incident to men explain this perjury but too well; we should doubtless lament it, and deplore the fatal consequences it produced upon the unfortunate reigns of Constantius and Valens. But it is enough for our present purpose to know that Arius and his partisans had recognised this authority before it explained itself: and that they themselves had afterwards submitted to its decision, and that they did not venture to revolt against it for a considerable time after their condemnation. With regard to the other bishops in various parts, who had not been able to assist at the council, they almost all applauded its decrees: the most enlightened doctors took up the defence of them, as soon as they were called in question, and generally all nations conformed to them. The Nicene Creed, already adopted by the universal Church, was for the second time universally proclaimed at the council of Constantinople, and there received the additions made necessary by the heresy of Macedonius against the Holy Ghost. From the sixth age, it was publicly recited in the Greek Churches, according to the ordinance of Timotheus, patriarch of Constantinople; sung in the Churches of Spain, according to the form of the Oriental Churches, by the decree of the council of Toledo:^a in Gaul and Germany towards the end of the eighth century; towards the year 1014, in all Italy, by the constitution of Benedict VIII.; in fine it has been kept by the reformation; and in our days it is still held in honour among almost all protestant communions.

And to say a word upon the individual opinion of the most celebrated doctors of the Church; the learned Eusebius of Cesarea, who, in the council, held out a long time against the term consubstantial, was not on that account prevented from writing afterwards,^b that the Holy Spirit himself had truly promulgated the faith, by the instrumentality of the fathers of Nice. He had already reckoned among the evils inflicted by Licinius on the

^a 589, — ^b In the life of Constantine.

Church, the prohibition to assemble councils. 'For,' adds the historian, 'important controversies can never be terminated without a synod.' We know with what strength, spirit and eloquence Athanasius supported during a struggle of 50 years, against the Semiarians, the decisions of the council of Nice. Threatened with exile when in his see, and with death in his exile, he evinced the same courage, and had not less credit at the extremities of Gaul, at Treves, than in Egypt, and at Alexandria. From all the places, to which he was constrained to take refuge, he combated with unshaken firmness that heresy armed as it was with the power of two Emperors, and many times in synod carried off in triumph the formula of Nice, as the rule of the orthodox faith.* He calls it the word of God, the divine and sacred oracle of the Holy Spirit. 'What can be wanting to the council of Nice that we can desire further? The Indians are not ignorant of it, and all the christians of barbarous countries revere it. The word of God, who has spoken by this œcumenical council, will remain for ever.' See now how he commences the profession of faith, which the Emperor Jovian had demanded of him in 363, after the agitated and unfortunate reigns of Constantius and Julian. 'Know then, O Emperor, that the faith, which the fathers of Nice have acknowledged, is the faith that has been preached from the beginning; know that it is followed by all the Churches of the world, whether in Spain or in England, in Gaul, in all Italy, in Dalmatia, Dacia, Mysia, Macedonia and all Greece, in Pamphylia, Lycia, Isauria, Egypt, Lybia, Pontus and Cappadocia. To these we must add all our neighbouring Churches, as well as those of the east, except a small number, who are in the party of the Arians. We know all those whom we have just named and others still more distant: we even have letters from them.' Cyril of Alexandria expresses himself of the fathers of Nice with the same veneration. 'Truly, with them was Jesus Christ, who said, when two or three are gathered together, there am I in the midst of them, for how should we be permitted to doubt that Jesus Christ him-

* Eccles. Hist. B. T. c. LI. —^b Ep to the Bishops of Africa.
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‘self invisibly presided over this great and holy assembly?’ St. Hilary, St. Basil, and St. Jerome hold the same language. St. Ambrose,^a whose sentiments ought to be discoverable in every christian heart, hesitated not to declare: ‘I embrace the decrees of Nice, from which ‘neither death nor the sword shall separate me.’ Saint Augustine calls it ‘the council of the world, whose decrees are equal to the divine commandments.’ Speaking of the error of Saint Cyprian upon rebaptization, he says, that ‘this holy martyr would have adhered to the ‘decision of the Church, if the truth had been cleared ‘up and declared in his time by a general council,’^b as it afterwards was at Arles and Nice. From these principles, which are also ours, this great man concluded in another passage, as we also conclude with him, ‘that ‘disputes may be tolerated before the matter is decided ‘by the authority of the Church, but that to dispute after such decision, is to root up the foundation of the ‘Church itself.’^c

Pope Leo declares that, “they could never be reckoned among catholics, who would not follow the definitions of the venerable synod of Nice, or the regulations of the great council of Chalcedon.”^d “I declare, wrote Gregory the Great, that I receive and ‘venerate the four first general councils, as the four ‘books of the holy gospel.”^e Socrates, who wrote his ecclesiastical history a century after the council, says, that “the fathers of Nice, although for the greater part ‘simple and unlearned, could not fall into error, because they were enlightened by the light of the Holy ‘Spirit.”^f

It would certainly be very easy, were it not long and tedious, to produce here many other passages which the writings of the fathers of the Church furnish upon this subject. You will perhaps be more pleased to learn that the authority of the fathers of Nice has found defenders even amongst the reformers. The most learned and the most moderate protestant theologians have made

^a Ep. XXXV, Lib. V.—^bB. II. ch. IV. on Bapt—^c Serm. XIV. *de verb. apost.*—^d Ep. LXXVIII.—^eB. I. Ep. XXIV.—^fB. I. ch. II.

no difficulty in submitting to the decisions of the four first general councils ; and upon that of Nice hear how, amongst others, Bull, bishop of St. David's, one of the most skilful divines of your English Church, expresses himself. "In this council was discussed one of the principal articles of the Christian Religion, (the divinity of Jesus Christ.) If upon a leading article we can imagine that all the pastors of the Church could have fallen into error and led the faithful astray, how shall we be able to defend the word of Christ, who promised his apostles, and, in their persons, their successors, to be always with them? a promise, which would not be true, since the apostles were not to live long, were it not that their successors are here comprised in the persons of the apostles." You see the infallibility of the council of Nice here recognized by the learned bishop of St. David's, as resting on the firmest foundation, the promises of Jesus Christ, whose word shall never pass away. The reasoning of Dr. Bull, is the reasoning of antiquity, of all the fathers, and of the Church at all times. It might, and it ought to have led him to the Church, and yet did not do it. A deplorable example this of the tyranny, that the prejudices of education and the miserable interests of the world exercise over even well disposed minds.*

What I have been saying on the circumstances, pre-

* *Defence of the Nicene Faith.* pref. No. 2. p. 2.--- During my residence in England, there fell into my hands a very voluminous collection of notes upon Ecclesiastical History. They were loose and superficial, indicating much reading but little learning. The author, who called himself a theologian, alluding to the passage above quoted, evinces much spleen against the learned bishop. He observes, nevertheless, and with more reason than he appears to think, that with such principles upon the authority of the Church, Bull ought to have taken a bold step, and finished the business by passing over to the Church of Rome. There is not less justness in this observation, than truth in the doctrine that gave rise to it. Happy would have been both the critic and the bishop, had the former learned the principle from the latter, and had both been blessed with courage enough to follow up its consequence ! This author, whose light notes have left but few traces in my mind, is called, to the best of my recollection, Doctor Jortin.

ceding, accompanying, and succeeding the first general council, ought, one would imagine, to be sufficient to convince you that before and after this assembly, as well as during its sitting, it was the general persuasion that infallibility had been promised to the Church, to maintain unity of doctrine and government. You have seen the motives that induced the bishops to desire its convocation, and the Emperor to effect it. You have seen all parties acknowledging beforehand the authority of the great council, and prepared to submit to its decisions. You have heard the illustrious testimonies, that have since been given of it; its formulary of faith applauded throughout the world, received as coming from heaven itself; celebrated in hymns, in the solemnities of worship, and in the Liturgies; engraven upon the memories of all the faithful, and repeated from age to age, from one end of the world to the other, by every christian tongue. As to the opinion which prevailed among the fathers of this council, whatever distrust they might individually have had of their own lights, there was undoubtedly not one of them, who did not remember the promise of Jesus Christ, and who, upon his word, was not convinced that the spirit of truth hovered invisibly over the assembly to direct its decisions. You have already heard one of those who sat among the judges of the faith, Eusebius of Cesarea, and also Athanasius, who had the honor of accompanying Alexander, his patriarch, to the council, and of distinguishing himself by his erudition and eloquence. There will be no necessity for recurring here to their testimonies. The anathemas pronounced by the council will suffice. They plainly shew an entire confidence of infallibility. A society that does not possess it, and that from its own confession may be surprised into error, might indeed exclude from its bosom those who should refuse to conform to its laws; but to denounce to execration, to devote to eternal malediction, and to deliver up to satan, those who would not receive its decisions, this goes far beyond the rights and the power of man; it belongs only to a society, convinced that it possesses an extraordinary privilege, and which, feeling itself under the protection and direction of the Holy Spi-

rit, is firmly persuaded that, with such a guide, it cannot err in its decisions.

Moreover, this principle of authority, so solidly established by tradition and holy scripture, gains greater strength, when contrasted with the principle of the reformation. It is evident that this would never have gained ground, any more than any other heresy before it, if it had submitted itself, as it should have done, to the authority that condemned it. It was obliged to commence its operations by rising up in revolt against that authority; and it was necessarily obliged to labour, in the first place, to overturn the rampart, which alone would have arrested its progress, and which till that time had been generally held in the world to have been established by Jesus Christ himself. The reformers therefore were continually repeating to the people, that all men were subject to error; and that no man, nor assembly of men, could arrogate a claim to infallibility; that it was the attribute of God, that the scripture, inspired by him, alone shared it with him; that the scripture alone was the rule of our faith, sufficiently clear, at least in every thing essential, for each one to understand it, to decide from it between good and bad doctrine, and thus form his religion according to his conscience. Let us pause a little on this principle, which substitutes private judgment for the uniform doctrine of the episcopal body.

The scripture alone, the rule of our faith! The scripture sufficiently clear and intelligible to all minds! Begin then by teaching men how to read. Three fourths of mankind cannot read, or they read so imperfectly that they hesitate at every word. Such are labourers, artificers, and those condemned to gain their bread by the sweat of their brow; who have neither the ability nor the time, nor the instruction necessary for learning.

The scripture alone the rule of our faith! sufficiently clear and intelligible to all minds! In the Acts of the apostles we read as follows; "Philip rising up went; and behold a man of Ethiopia, a Eunuch, of great authority under Candace, the Queen of the Ethiopians,

‘ who had charge over all her treasures, had come to Jerusalem to adore. And he was returning sitting in his chariot, and reading *Isaias*, the prophet. And the Spirit said to Philip, Go near and join thyself to this chariot; and Philip running thither, heard him reading the prophet *Isaias*, and he said, Thinkest thou that thou understandest what thou readest? Who said, and how can I, unless some man shew me !’ Put, in these days, the scriptures into the hands of all those who know how to read, and ask the greater part. Do you understand what you read? If they are as honest as the Eunuch of Candace, they will answer you together with him; How can we unless some man shew us?

The scripture alone, the rule of our faith! sufficiently clear and intelligible to all minds! And how comes it then that the sublime reformers, those even who were the first to make the scriptures the only rule of our faith, have never been able to come to an understanding upon the sense of this same scripture? How comes it that Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, and those sprung from them, could not manage for their lives to agree together? I should not so soon finish, were I to enumerate all their differences. Here is a specimen: ‘ It is clear from scripture, says Zuinglius, that we receive only bread and wine in the sacrament.—You deceive yourself, replies Calvin, it is clear from scripture that the true body and true blood are present; not in the sacrament, but to him that worthily receives it.—You neither of you understand any thing about it, exclaims Luther, stepping in between them, you are two asses; you hold this doctrine from the devil. It is clear from scripture, adds he in a more subdued tone, that we must accuse the Holy Spirit of lying, or believe that the sacred body and blood of Christ are truly and really present in the sacrament, as well as for him that receives it.’ If the scripture is so clear and intelligible, how do you account, I say, for their eternal disputes? and how came the reformation by following one and the same guide, to go astray in so many differ-

ent directions? Often have they endeavoured to rally, often have they endeavoured to conciliate all parties by

"It is of great importance (wrote Calvin to Melancthon) that there should not be transmitted to future ages any suspicion of the divisions that exist amongst us: for it is beyond imagination ridiculous, after having quarrelled with all the world that we should agree so little among ourselves from the very commencement of our reform." (a) He was speaking here of the disputes upon the sense of the words, *This is my body*.

Luther spoke still better, on the same subject: "If the world is to last much longer, I do declare, considering all these different interpretations of the scripture, there is no other means remaining for us to preserve the unity of the faith, than that of receiving the decrees of the councils and taking refuge under their authority." (b) He therefore ultimately felt the necessity of unity in faith, and the impossibility of effecting it without the supreme authority of the Church? Is it possible that after two hundred years more of experience, protestants should not be still more struck with, and convinced of the justness of this reflection?

Melancthon and Chatillon, stupified with the confusion of ideas that prevailed among them, declared, the former, "that it was well enough known whom to avoid, but not whom to follow;" the latter, "that he doubted very much whether truth was or was not on their side."

"But in fine, in what a situation are our followers?" exclaims Duditius: "dispersed, agitated by every wind of doctrine, carried away from one side to another. What is their opinion in religion to-day, you may, perhaps, ascertain; but what it will be to-morrow, it is impossible to conjecture. In what, I pray, do all those agree who make war upon the Roman Pontiff? Run over all their articles from the first to the last, you will see nothing advanced by any one of our teachers, but it is immediately exclaimed against by another as an impiety. They make themselves a new creed every month, *menstruam fidem habent*." (c)

"The papists object to us our dissensions: I confess we cannot sufficiently deplore them. I confess, also, that the simple are troubled at them, so far as no longer to know where is the truth and whether there still remains for God a Church upon earth." (d)

"Nothing brings so much discredit on our gospel, as our internal dissensions." (e)

(a) Calv. *Epist. ad Melancthon*. p. 145.—(b) Luther against Zuinglius and Œcolampadius.—(c) In the Theological Epistles of Bæsa. p. 13.—(d) George Major. *on the confusions of dogm.* e) Melancthon. *Cons. Theol.* p. 249.—

some general and well drawn up formulary; but as yet it has been all to no purpose. To facilitate so desired a reconciliation, some have since conceived that they found superfluities in the gospel, and reduced it to what is simply necessary, to fundamental points: as if Jesus Christ had taught useless dogmas or precepts; as if he had ordered his apostles to teach all nations, to observe all things whatever he had commanded them,^a and had not told them that the Holy Ghost should teach them all things;^b as if St. Paul had not protested to the Christians of Miletus and Ephesus, that he had declared to them all the counsel of God and had not spared to do so;^c and as if St. James had not written, 'Whoever shall keep the whole law, but offend in one point, is become guilty of all!'^d And still, even after all their arbitrary restrictions, or rather, sacrilegious reductions, they are no better agreed upon this small number of fundamental points.^e Surely, were it only from shame of their disputes and intestine divisions, their eyes should at last be opened, and so long an experience should have convinced them that the principle from which they started, is only calculated to swell the learned with pride, and to bring into action and opposi-

^a St. Math. ch. XXVIII. v. 18.—^b St. John, ch. XIV. v. 26.—

^c Acts, ch. XX. v. 26.—^d Ch. II. v. 10.—^e "Where is the man, said a Calvinist.(a) who can decide to the satisfaction of all, what are the dogmas necessary for salvation and what precisely are sufficient? I would take such a one to be a great prophet."(b)

Another Calvinistic author, in his book on the re-union of Christianity, had written, "that others who seemed to have had in view this general reconciliation, had not sufficiently distinguished what is fundamental from what is not so." The equally Calvinistic author of the Remarks upon this work, makes an observation upon this passage, which also is worthy of notice; "What (says he) is this man thinking of? Does he imagine that it is so easy a thing to agree upon what is fundamental and what is not so? Has it not hitherto been an insurmountable difficulty?"(c)

(a) Arnald. Polenburg in *præst viror. ep.*—(b) See *Prejugés égitimes* de M. Nicole, p. 358.—(c) Nicole, *Pregugés legitimes contre les Calvinistes*, p. 358.

tion the passions of men. It is not the spur but the rein that is wanted for the learned and the proud ; they stand no less in need of a guide than the illiterate ; and the wisdom of our legislator appears splendidly in this, that both were equally subjected to the yoke of the same authority, that both may be held in the unity of the same doctrine.

Let us therefore conclude, Sir, that scripture alone, far from being a rule of faith common to all mankind. cannot even be so for any particular class of men : not for that of the learned, who have hitherto made no other use of it than to lose themselves in interminable disputes upon many important matters ; not for the greater number of persons, who, although able to read, are unable to understand : not for the class of ignorant and simple men and women so general in the world, to whom letters are totally unknown. Let this be the only rule under heaven, and all the doctors of the world shall consume their days in learned dissertations, in obstinate and fruitless quarrels about the sense of the scripture ; and men of ordinary education shall go out of life without ever knowing what to hold of all they have read ; and the multitude of the ignorant and simple, because they cannot read, shall be condemned never to know Jesus Christ ! But it is not so : and this misfortune is much more to be feared for the learned than for those little ones, whom the world despises, and whom Jesus Christ has preferred for the uprightness and simplicity of their soul : he loved them too much not to put himself within their reach and be known by them. ‘ I confess ‘ to thee, O Father,’ did he exclaim in an effusion of tenderness for them, ‘ because thou hast hid these things ‘ from the wise and the prudent, and hast revealed them ‘ to little ones.’^a

Suppose a legislator, a founder of an empire or republic, without troubling himself about creating magistrates and tribunals, were to deliver a code of his laws into the hands of his people and say to them ; ‘ Take, read and ‘ interpret my laws yourselves : they are clear and intelligible. Above all, let there be no more law suits, but

^a St. Matth. c. XI. v. 25. Luke, c. X. v. 21.

‘let fraternal love, concord, and unity dwell among you ‘all ;’ would not this be an admirably contrived republic! And what would follow from this admirable and novel regulation? In the first place, three parts out of four, not knowing how to read and having no time to lose, if they are to get a living, would throw the code aside, and care nothing about its contents. The others would read in it whatever their interest might make them desirous of finding. And then commenting upon the text at pleasure, no one would be wrong; each one without contradiction would have the law on his side. Thus, cavils and disputes without end or measure, implacable hatreds, irritated hearts, would prevail through the four quarters of the empire. The making such an hypothesis, is a folly that stares us in the face. Away with it to some other world if you like; it certainly belongs not to ours. Accordingly never was there a legislator who did not institute magistrates with supreme authority; never a founder of an empire who did not feel how essential they were, to interpret the sense of the law, to apply it to all particular cases, to maintain the security of property, and persons, that is, to decide as a supreme tribunal upon objects as frivolous and transient as are their proprietors, upon interests of dust and dirt; and yet there are men who would have Jesus Christ, he who knows the heart and its folds, man and his silly passions, his restless curiosity, his rage for singularity, for pre-eminence, for making himself a name among creatures and followers; he who knows the ignorance and the incapacity of the multitude, and who notwithstanding has chosen to mix them together under the same law, and of all the people in the world to make but one nation of brethren; there are those, I say, who would have Jesus Christ to have been devoid of ordinary foresight in the Church of which he is King, in his plan of universal concord, on which the souls redeemed by his blood, and their happiness for time and eternity was at stake.*

* “Godliness is profitable to all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.”—St. Paul, 1. *Ep.* to *Tim.* c. IV. v. 8.

The reformation began by telling men; 'Take reason for the guide and the judge of your belief,' and thus at once men were dubbed logicians and theologians. Discord soon appeared among them, scattered divisions in their debates, and produced, with unceasing and inexhaustible fecundity, rival and jealous sects, who could agree in nothing but in doing their utmost to demolish one another, always attacking the youngest with increased fury, without perceiving that in their blind rivalry, the edifice must at last decay and crumble, and bury them all under its ruins. Before the reformation, and as long as the voice of the spiritual guides were followed, all was firm and compact: one and the same creed was common to all: one and the same doctrine was preached and heard through the vast empire of catholicity. Let good sense decide between these two conditions of mankind. Let us judge of the principles by their effects. The principle of catholicity is found by experience, to be the bond of peace and harmony: that of protestantism, the source of trouble and discord; the former unites mankind and would make of the world one family of brethren; the latter separates them, and would continue eternally to parcel out mankind into hostile parties. The principle of authority, so analogous to our nature, is therefore also the only one in conformity with the will of the divine legislator, since he incontestibly proposed to unite his adorers of all nations and all ages. You then, who have hitherto been so much taken with this liberty of discussing matters of faith, frankly acknowledge with us, that this liberty is demonstrated to be antichristian, since instead of assembling together, it infallibly disperses.

Again, the reformation said at its commencement: 'Man is subject to error, and infallibility is the property of God alone.' So far we are agreed: and when we grant this prerogative to bishops united together, we are far from considering it inherent in their nature, which resembles our own: we derive it from heaven and from its promise. We take it as a favor, a pure gift, which Jesus Christ has condescended to bestow upon them for our advantage, in order that we may no longer be abandoned and fluctuating children, but may be conducted

by a steady and paternal hand. As for you, who reject both the promises and gifts of your Saviour, you, whoever you be, reformers or reformed, Lutherans or Calvinists, Anglicans or Presbyterians, Methodists, Anabaptists or Socinians, you who acknowledge that the society of which you are members aspires not to this privilege from on high, you who acknowledge that it may err and draw you into error, how can you without iniquitude continue and terminate in such a Church your mortal pilgrimage? How is it you are not afraid of all going fatally astray? How can you walk on with a safe conscience, when by your confession, your steps are not secure? Your whole society might go astray, you say: it is not then the church to which Christ has said the gates of hell shall never prevail against her.^a Your society might go astray; it is not then the Church to which Christ gave the admirable and consoling assurance, 'Behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world.'^b It might go astray; it is not then the Church to which is addressed the magnificent promise of its divine founder: 'I will ask the Father, and he shall give you another paraclete, that he may abide with you for ever: who will teach you all truth.'^c It might go astray; it is not then the *Church of the living God,^d the pillar, and ground of the truth?* It might go astray! What then is become of those apostles, pastors, and teachers, who, by divine institution, shall always direct the Church, shall fix it in faith, that it may not be carried away by every wind of doctrine? Acknowledge, Sir, that your ancestors are here visibly shewn, by their own principle, to be cut off from the body of Jesus Christ. They have renounced the promises and rejected the gifts he made to his followers; they are no longer his: they have ceased to belong to him: and thus you are declared, by your own mouths, to be strangers to his Church, from the time that you have estranged yourselves from the privileges with which he has been pleased to invest it.

^a Matth. ch. XVI. v. 18.—^b Ibid. ch. XXVIII. v. 20.—^c St. John, ch. XIV. v. 16. ch. XVI. v. 13.—^d *Ep. to Tim.* ch. 3. v. 15.—^e

But attend to another consequence from the same principle, which will astonish you, and which, I confess, surprised me much, as soon as I discovered it. You remember all we have said in this and the preceding letters upon the authority of teaching in the governors, on the duty of submission in the governed, and on the enormity of heresy and schism. Now, Sir, with the glorious principle of the reform, all authority disappears in superiors, all obedience in the faithful: there is no longer such a thing as heresy or schism; or, if you please, heresy and schism, which the scripture and all antiquity describe as the blackest of all crimes, are found from henceforth in the rank of lawful actions, quite harmless and innocent. In fact, when once you recognise no other rule of faith but the scripture, when once you grant to each one the right of interpreting it according to his own lights, it is most evident that I only use my right when I adopt that interpretation which appears to me the most reasonable. What! you think it extravagant! Be it so, to your heart's content; you think so, and I do not oppose you: permit me also, together with yourself, to exercise my rights.—Yes, but you run straight in the face of the doctrine generally received! Very well! What have I to do with the opinion of another? Speak not to me of authority; I am emancipated from it.—Example is not my rule; reason is my only guide: and so long as I have no new lights upon such and such a question, I must hold to the opinion I have chosen. But, you will say again, this very choice and this perseverance in the choice, precisely constitute heresy.—Indeed! then I will be a heretic; you will be one when you please; and all others in the same manner; there will no longer be any but heretics in the world, because all having equally the right to choose, each one will preserve the opinion that appears to him preferable. And more than this, if amongst all the Christian societies that exist, I find none of my opinion, I shall, in virtue of the same right, form a society apart; let those join it who please: if nobody fancies it, I shall

remain alone, and my Church will be entire wherever I am myself.^a

Perhaps, in your eyes, I may appear to invent absurd hypothesis, for the purpose of laying unjust accusations against the reform. Not at all, Sir; and if you take the trouble to go back to its birth, or to consult the works of the most celebrated latitudinarians,^b you will see that I only act the part of an historian. The first reformers and their emissaries, dispatched from all parts to propagate their doctrine; had flattered themselves that by filling the world with furious declamations against the pretended tyranny of the pope and the bishops, they would insensibly substitute themselves in their place, and would draw to themselves all the consideration and authority they would succeed in withdrawing from them. The illusion did not last long, and there was no necessity for waiting much to be convinced in what their noble experiments terminated. All those who had given into their ideas had set themselves to comment upon the scriptures, to search them, to compare passages, to reason upon the old and new testament: for they had been at great pains in preparing versions of them in different languages, each being

^a I remember to have read, somewhere, that a Mr. Johnson, an Englishman, had in his house, at Amsterdam, a Church composed of four individuals, and that it was soon divided and reduced to two, because the said Johnson excommunicated his father and brother, who on their part also excommunicated him.

^b Among others, Strimesius, Belgius, and other professors, both of the University of Francfort on the Oder, and of the Academy of Dusbürg in the Duchy of Cleves: Jurieu and his partisans in Holland: Cartwright, Chillingworth, and Burnet, in England. Papin, who was a long time attached to their principles, ultimately became frightened at their consequences; he saw that they must absolutely open the Church to the Socinians, and even extend salvation out of Jesus Christ.—He stopped at the brink of the abyss; and there, measuring all its terrific depth, and afterwards fixing his eyes upon the divine and infallible authority of the Church, he acknowledged it, humbled himself before it, and came to surrender himself up to Bossuet.

seasoned to the taste of the translator, and according to the opinion that he wished to bring into repute.*

The rage for controversy had then gained all states and conditions; the courtier and the magistrate, those engaged in the profession of arms, and those immersed in business; females even, particularly those, who prided themselves on their wit and learning, all must meddle with theology. The monk, tired of his cell, threw aside his habit, gained his liberty, and proceeded, like a good protestant, with edifying zeal to dictate to the successors of the apostles: the village schoolmaster did not think himself less clever than the new ministers. In vain did these latter remonstrate against such presumption; very soon they listened no more to them: no one understood how to obey: all claimed their rights, their independence, and that liberty of the children of God, that had been so much extolled to them from the beginning. Thus the arms with which the ministers had overturned the legitimate authority of their superiors, were turned against themselves. They had advanced from liberty to licentiousness and anarchy, each one pulling his own way, shaping the Church to his fancy, inventing and forging doctrines according to his inclination. 'The authority of the ministers is entirely abolished; all is lost, all is going to ruin. There is no

* Luther made a version of the scripture into the vulgar language. (a) Zuinglius after having examined it, publicly announced that it corrupted the word of God. The Lutherans said the same of the version of Zuinglius. Oecolampadius and the theologians of Bale, made another version: but, according to the famous Beza, it was impious in many parts; the divines of Bale said the same of Beza's version. In fact, adds Dumoulin, another learned minister, he changes in it the text of scripture; and speaking of Calvin's translation, he says, that Calvin does violence to the letter of the gospel, which he has changed, making also additions of his own. The ministers of Geneva believed themselves obliged to make an exact version, but James I. King of England, declared in the conference at Hampton Court, that of all the versions it was the most wicked and the most unfaithful.

(a) The learned Emser, doctor of Leipsick, discovered in it more than a thousand errors.

‘ Church among us, not even a single one, in which
 ‘ there is discipline. ; the people tell us bold-
 ‘ ly ; You wish to act the part of tyrants in a Church
 ‘ that is free ; you wish to establish a new papacy.’^a
 ‘ God gives me to know what it is to be a pastor, and
 ‘ the wrong we have done to the Church by the precipi-
 ‘ tate judgment and inconsiderate vehemence that has
 ‘ induced us to reject the pope. For the people accus-
 ‘ tomed, and as it were trained to licentiousness, have
 ‘ entirely thrown off the rein ; they cry out
 ‘ to us : I know the gospel well enough ; what need
 ‘ have I of your assistance to find Jesus Christ ? Go,
 ‘ and preach to those who are willing to hear you.’^b
 Bucer, Capito’s colleague at Strasburg, made the same
 confession, in 1549, and added, that in embracing the re-
 formation they had sought for nothing so much, ‘ as
 ‘ the pleasure of living in it according to their inclina-
 ‘ tion.’^c Myco, the successor of Œcolampadius in the
 ministry at Bâle, indulges in the same complaints :
 ‘ The laics attribute every thing to themselves, and the
 ‘ magistrate has created himself into a pope.’^d And the
 peaceable and unfortunate Melancthon, who spent half
 his life in lamenting the part in which he had been en-
 gaged, and died without having sufficient courage to
 abandon it ; ‘ The Elbe (wrote he in confidence to a
 ‘ friend)’ the Elbe with all its waves could not furnish
 ‘ tears enough to weep over the miseries of the distract-
 ‘ ed reformation.’ ‘ You see the violence of the multi-
 ‘ tude and its blind desires,’ wrote he again to his friend
 Camerarius.

So much excess, so many crimes, which were daily
 committed in the reform, at last opened the eyes of the
 leaders upon the principles which they had at first put
 forward, and made them understand that they must
 change both their method and their language. Blinded
 creatures ! not to have known sooner, that to destroy,
 there is nothing more required than that enthusiasm and
 intoxication to which the multitude is so prone ; whereas

^a Capito, Bucer’s colleague at Strasburgh, writing to his
 friend Farrell.—^b *Int. Ep. Calv.* p. 5.—^c *Ibid.* p. 509, 510.
 —^d *Ibid.* p. 52.—^e *Lib. II. ep.* 202.

when they wish to rebuild, they know not in what manner to bring back to order and subordination the minds that have been once infatuated with their religious independence! However that may be, the reformers employed for this purpose all the resources of their mind, the credit they enjoyed with princes, and the little controul they still retained over the people. See with what ardour poor Melancthon set himself about it: 'Would to God, would to God, said he, that I might be able, not indeed to confirm the domination of the bishops, but to re-establish their administration! for I see what kind of a Church we are going to have, if we overturn the ecclesiastical government. I see that tyranny will be more insupportable than ever. What will be the condition of the Church (continues he) if we change all the ancient customs and there be no longer any fixed prelates and conductors?'^a

'Our brethren blame me because I give jurisdiction to the bishops. The people accustomed to liberty after having once shaken off the yoke, are unwilling to receive it any more, and it is the towns of the empire that hate this dominion the most. They do not trouble themselves about doctrine and religion, but only about power and liberty.'^b

Some time after this, it appears that the ministers and the principal persons of the party struck in with his opinion: for instead of saying, our brethren blame me, he says now: 'Our brethren are agreed that the ecclesiastical mode of government by which bishops are recognised as the superiors of many Churches, and the bishop of Rome superior over all the bishops, is permitted. It has also been permitted to kings to give revenues to the Churches: so there is no dispute about the superiority of the pope and the authority of the bishops; and the pope as well as the bishops may easily preserve this authority. For the Church stands in need of conductors to maintain order, to have an eye over those who are called to the ecclesiastical ministry and over the doctrine taught by the priests, and to exercise ecclesiastical judgments: so that, if there were no bishops,

^aBook III. ep. 104.—^bBook I. ep. 17, addressed to Luther.

‘we must needs make them.’ The monarchy of the pope would also tend very much to preserve agreement in doctrine among many nations. Thus we should easily agree upon the superiority of the pope, if we were agreed upon all the rest, and kings might themselves easily check the encroachments of the pope upon the temporalities of their kingdom.^a What reflections do this passage, and many others which I could produce, occasion on the irresistible force of experience and truth, which oblige men to recognise the principles which they themselves had overturned. Melancthon is not the only one who entertained these opinions in these times. You will have remarked this declaration; ‘Our brethren are agreed.’ In the confession of Augsburg, they had already proclaimed tolerably loudly the authority of the Church, of the Catholic Church, and even the doctrine of the Church of Rome. I have given you the passages above. As for the Calvinists, without retracing here the multitude of professions of faith, and of synods, the object of which evidently was to instruct and to hold people’s minds in subjection, by the voice of authority, I shall notice some sentences of the synod of Delpht, because they have more closely imitated the language of the Catholic Church, and almost adopted the same doctrine.

The remonstrants had advanced that the synod with which they were threatened would not be infallible like the apostles. It was not easy for the Calvinists openly to deny this; the synod of Delpht, however,^a answered them in these words: ‘Jesus Christ who promised to his apostles the Spirit of truth, whose lights should conduct them in all truth, also promised to his Church to be with her to the end of ages and where two or three are assembled together in his name there to be in the midst of them:’ from which they conclude, a little later, ‘that when pastors from several countries should be assembled, to decide according to the word of God, what must be taught in the Churches, we must, with a firm confidence, be persuaded that Jesus Christ would be with them according to his promise.’ Now the declaration of this provincial synod (and this should be observed) was afterwards

^a Resp. ad Bel.

read and approved at the national synod of Dordrecht, called by all the party the almost œcumenical synod, because, in fact, in it were found deputies from England, Scotland, the Palatinate, Hesse, Switzerland, Geneva, Bremen, Emden, in a word, from the whole body of the reformation, not joined to the Lutherans, with the exception of the French, whom reasons of state kept away, but who approved of it afterwards. We see here the whole of Calvinism brought back in its turn to the principle of authority, as was Lutheranism before it, in the confession of Augsburgh.

The particular teachers who have since appeared, and who have shewn more learning and moderation, in both parties, have adopted the same principles and held nearly the same language. I do not even entirely except M. Jurieu, whom I could cite to you, were it not of more consequence to make you acquainted with a more grave and more solidly instructed personage. M. Molanus, the Abbé de Lokkum, the friend and fellow-labourer of Leibnitz, in the project of conciliation carried on for some time, between them and Bossuët, but which unfortunately failed. M. Molanus assigns as the third rule of faith 'the interpretation of the scripture adopted by common consent or authorized by the practice of the ancient and modern Church.—or which should be approved by a general council held legitimately and freely. All Christians are agreed (says he) upon the following points: 1st, 'such or such councils are not always necessary of themselves, but only on account of certain circumstances, as when the troubles of the Church cannot otherwise be appeased.' 2dly. 'It is agreed that the interpretation of scripture given by the council should be preferred, at least exteriorly, to that of any individual: on this account the confession of Augsburgh declares that a general council is the ultimate means employed by antiquity to procure the peace of the Church, and ought to be resorted to. The synod of Dordrecht, all the councils held by the two parties, and even that of the apostles, confirm the same thing. In fine we find still another decided confirmation in the acts of the synod of Charenton, where it is said, that if it were permitted to all and to each one to adhere to private interpretations,

‘there would be as many religions as parishes. 3rdly. Again, it is agreed, that the œcumenical councils have very often erred,^a and that when we attribute to them the assistance of the Holy Spirit, or that infallibility to which all christians owe an inward submission, we have never pretended that such infallibility belongs to them, precisely because they are councils, but because of the subsequent consent of the greatest part of the Church, to which the assistance of the Holy Spirit is promised.’ And in the new explanation of his method he says: ‘If the Church had decided in a council undoubtedly general, such as are, by the consent of all parties, the first of Nice, the three of Constantinople, that of Chalcedon and that of Ephesus, the contrary to that which the protestants decide, there is no doubt that this decision should carry the day.’ You have here then, according to the learned Abbé and according to M. Leibnitz, for they both laboured together, the authority of the Church brought into honor and repute: and according to them and the acts of Charenton, it is not lawful for any one to adopt his private interpretations, because otherwise there would be as many religions as parishes: the œcumenical council should supersede all others; infallibility is attached to the greatest part of the Church, because the assistance of the Holy Spirit has been promised it. Do we require more? Or did we ask more in the time of Luther and Calvin? Who would not feel himself vehemently moved with compassion at the sight of the fatal schism, that has been effected by means of crying down an authority, to which the reformers were one day to have recourse again? O the blindness and folly of man! Oh! the misery of your guilty reformers and their numerous descendants!

But I am detaining you too long in a strange country: I hasten to conduct you again to your fellow-countrymen. From the time that England, which perhaps may claim the glory of superior knowledge in its temporal interests, and of excelling in the art of governing, had taken the fatal resolution to legalize schism and to form

^aI know not who can allow that the general councils have erred: certainly M. Molanus cannot do it, for he teaches the opposite in this very passage.... ^bIbid. 322.

itself into a religious constitution, it felt the necessity of investing its new Church with all the strength and power of the nation. One of the first concerns of the parliament was to carry a law for the establishing of uniformity of worship. The supreme governess acted upon the same plan. No sooner had she substituted her bishops for those of the ancient Church, but she gave them to understand that they must assemble and draw up a formula of faith, that might serve as a basis of the common creed of her subjects. They actually assembled in 1562, and drew up the thirty-nine articles, which afterwards received the approbation of parliament. But what influence could the governess or the parliament have over the mind, after they had taught the people to despise the holy authority that Jesus Christ had given to his Church? And, above all, what did the new spiritual lords mean by their twentieth article? With what face did they there claim for themselves the right of judging controversies, deciding upon matters of faith, of enforcing obedience to their decisions by all their spiritual censures, they, who but late had prided themselves on their abjuring the authority of the universal Church, and had just made so shameful a display of insubordination against their legitimate superiors? How come they, now a-days, to entertain so high an idea of the episcopal dignity and authority, much misplaced undoubtedly in their persons, and yet essentially most christian? There are then certain powerful truths with which men find themselves penetrated and as it were impregnated in spite of themselves; to which they are constrained to pay homage, when their interests hold their peace. For then they lay down their principles in theory, as if they no longer remembered having combated them the day before in their actions. To conclude, all that they gain is to give a more scandalous display to the contradiction with which they were reproached between their actual doctrine and their public conduct. 'Who are you? Said they to them: whence come you? 'Yesterday we knew nothing of you? Whose place do you occupy? It is the place of your masters in the faith, of your superiors, to whom the right of holding their sees still belongs, unless sheer violence makes

‘them lose it. You have despised authority in them, and would you have it recognised in you? They at least held it from the universal Church, with which they were in communion: they formed a part of the apostolic chain of succession; but have not you by breaking his communion, broken also the chain? Have you not gone out of the regular line? Intruders into these ancient sees, your authority comes from yourselves.^a You have no existence, no power, except from your royal governess; you are her creatures as she is the creature of parliament; your authority comes from her; her’s from it. Join together, as long as you please, in framing rules of policy, among you and yours. So far, so good. But do not pretend to subjugate our opinions: they are free, you know they are, you have taught us so, and without this, you would not be where you are.’ The dispute has continued since

“^a Ut fieri solet in ædificio collapsò, ut qui illud restaurare cupit, in veteri fundamento non ædificet, quia convulsus est et minus firmum, et plenum rudèrum, sed novum aliquod fundamentum ponit: ita in restauratione ecclesiæ factum est. Voluit enim Deus non in veteri fundamento, hoc est, in *successione episcoporum*, sed novo quodam et extraordinario modo illam instaurationem fieri.”

“Nostri episcopi et ministri non sunt a papisticis episcopis ordinati.”(a)

It is a principle that he who withdraws himself from the authority of the Church, loses by that act all the jurisdiction he had received from it: and there no longer remains any jurisdiction for him to communicate. Thus the bishops who were *not papistical*, of whom Whitaker speaks, supposing even they had enjoyed the right of conferring it before their defection, would not have been able to transmit any after. Cardinal Pole was then the last archbishop of Canterbury in the apostolic succession, and Parker the first in the parliamentary and royal establishment.

And should the consecration of Parker have been valid (and this even, according to Le Courayer, is at least doubtful, to speak of it in the most favourable manner possible) it is certain that the jurisdiction of the Church could never have been communicated to him.

(a) Dr. Whitaker, lector reg. Cantabr. *Controv.* II. q. V. c. VI. Died in 1595.

and still exists between the partisans of the established Church, and the numerous sects, who wish for none. The first, agreeably with the institution of the divine Legislator, judge with reason that without authority there can be no unity in the Church: the others, agreeably with the principles of the reformation, and much more consistently, are of opinion, that if they must submit to a spiritual authority, there was no necessity for beginning by emancipating themselves from it, and that, all things considered, it would have been better to have kept to that, which derived its origin from God himself. It is certain that the doctrine of the twentieth article is unwarrantable on the principle of the reformation, in England as well as upon the Continent.* There was no other means of establishing it than by returning to the Catholic principle. It would have been necessary that the first reformers, instructed by experience, should frankly have acknowledged their mistake, have loudly declared that they had gone astray, and that neither order, nor unity, nor salvation could be expected, unless under the protection of an infallible authority. A candid and spirited acknowledgment like this would have been too heroic to have been expected from the very persons who had raised the standard of revolt. But you who come so long behind them; you, who without partaking in their aggression, equally share in their errors and the fatal consequences, of which they were the first witnesses, and which they so much deplored towards the end of their career, what prevents you from surrendering yourself to the clearness of the proofs, the force of truth, and the lesson read by experience? Never lose sight of the day when the reformation took its rise in your country and elsewhere, and say; The Church and its authority were then as before, as they are to day, and as they will be for ever, solidly established upon the promises of Jesus Christ; this foundation is not less firm and immoveable

* See among others, *Lord Sommers' Tracts*, vol. II. p. 460, where you will find an anonymous work, the author of which expresses himself in a strong and virulent manner, against the twentieth article, and against bishop Sparrow, the publisher of the thirty nine articles and the canons.

than that of the universe, for the finger of God supports them both alike, and promises to them the same duration.

‘Yes, Sir, will you say to me, I see with you and our reformers the evils that have come from their principles: in spite of myself I must acknowledge that men have abused to their ruin the rights that had at first been given to them; I am struck also with what you have said to me on the infallibility of the Church: your proofs embarrass me; I know not what reply to make; nevertheless, Sir, excuse my boldness; I am an Englishman; I love and adore liberty. Your principles of authority destroy it. They are adapted for nothing but to make slaves, and a slave I can never become.’

I was expecting to see you fly to this strong entrenchment and your last refuge, Sir; I am aware of the sentiments of your countrymen and their ideas of liberty; ideas which they carry even into the sanctuary. I remember that during my residence in London, even one of your bishops (Dr. Hoarsley, if my memory serves me faithfully) published a work in which he pushed to excess this objection against the catholic principles. I read the work at the time, and was scandalized, not to say indignant. How, said I to myself, how can a man endowed with reason and great talents persuade himself that he is made a slave of, because it is proposed to him to submit his private and individual opinion to the uniform opinion of all the bishops of the earth? Liberty then, according to him, would be for each individual to prefer his own self to the highest authority of the world. But is it not the height of pride and the last degree of extravagance? ‘Not to submit to such an authority, would be the height of pride and the blindest arrogance. What more manifest proof can there be of our ingratitude to God, than to place our glory and exert our efforts in opposing an authority, which he created to be an aid and assistance to us?’^a

But, Sir, because upon the single fact of revealed dogmas you are required to follow the decisions of antiquity, of all the councils universally adopted, will you on

^a St. Augustine to his friend Honoratus on the *Utility of believing the Church*. chap. XVII.

that account consider yourself as degraded from your liberty and treated like a slave ? Were they slaves in Italy, in Germany, in France, Spain and England, where so many celebrated universities flourished, where so many great men have appeared in every state of life and every branch of science. To produce only one, but he the first of all, Bossuet, was he in your opinion a slave, he whose vast genius embraced so many sciences and treated them like a master, he whose inimitable and supreme excellence subdued all the enemies against whom he fought, made so many conquests to truth, and erected so many immortal trophies to religion ? But, you will say, as far as relates to dogmas at least, Bossuet was a slave, since he teaches so boldly that when the Church has spoken, we have only to believe and be silent.

One moment, Sir, I pray. I may perhaps have something to say to you, which will produce a salutary confusion at your notion, and banish it for ever from your mind. Tell me, if you please, should Jesus Christ re-appear upon earth, or rather if you had had the happiness of seeing him and hearing his instructions, would you have refused him obedience ? Would you have considered yourself a slave because he commanded you to believe in his word ? You say nothing. Well then ! the authority to which you are at the present day to subject yourself, is still the authority of Christ. It is not the voice of man, that you obey by hearing the Church ; but that of Jesus Christ. He has spoken by his apostles ; as all christianity agrees. He has spoken by his successors, and even as far as the fifth age, protestants are all agreed upon this. He continues to speak and will speak to the end of the world, by their means ; this is demonstrated ; he himself has said it, promised it, and often repeated his assurance of it : for this you have heard all the proofs.^a Throw then aside

^a " I will say more : I declare to you that, if I were born a catholic I would remain a good catholic, knowing well that your Church puts a very salutary restraint upon the wanderings of human reason, which finds neither bottom nor shore, when it attempts to sound the abyss of things : and I am so convinced of the utility of this restraint, that I have imposed upon myself a similar one, by prescribing to myself for the remainder of my life, some rules of faith, from which I do not allow my-

your low ideas of servitude, and feel yourself much more ennobled under the yoke that your divine Redeemer has with his own hand placed upon you, and upon the whole human race without exception.

self to depart." (J. J. Rousseau, in his answer to M. Seguir de Saint-Brissot, dated Moitiers, July 22, 1764.) A very remarkable acknowledgment, forced by experience and reflection from a man, of all others, the most proud of his reason and liberty of thinking.

LETTER IV.

On the Authority of Tradition.

At the same time that reformers were pretending an absolute deference and an exclusive submission to the Holy Scripture, they united all their hatred and all their attacks against the infallibility of the Church. This disposition ought not to surprise you, Sir : the reason of it you will easily discover. It is not without reason that they fear an impartial and inflexible judge, whose eye is always open and cannot be escaped, and whose sentence is unchangeable ; there is no imposing upon a supreme tribunal, the office of which is to maintain the law in its integrity, to call to it those who are gone astray, to explain it to those who misunderstand it, to rectify all their errors, by giving to the text its just and true signification : a tribunal armed moreover with a sacred authority to condemn, and proscribe the refractory and contumacious. The only means of escaping from its condemnation and anathemas, was to dispute its title of divine authority, and to annihilate, had it been possible, its jurisdiction. The authors of the reformation saw full well, that they had no other plan to adopt : they adopted it, and employed all their efforts to bring it to bear : they flattered themselves they should succeed by substituting for the judgment of the Bishops, the authority of the word of God, so religiously revered by all the faithful, so imposing to Christian ears : and as they reserved to themselves the right of interpreting it, there remained nothing more to be feared in their appeal from the Church to the scripture, that is to say, to an insensible and passive letter, which signifies whatever we please, and bears every, the most opposite interpretation without objection or reply, because it is dumb : which suffers violence and is put to the torture, and utters no complaint, because it is dead.^a They established,

^a“Speech is to writing what a man is to his portrait. The productions of writing present themselves to our eyes as if liv-

then, for their first maxim, that the judge of faith was not the Church, but the holy scripture. I am going to examine this principle with you : and if the arguments I have to oppose to it are not much weakened by my pen, you will, I think, have to conclude that it was absolutely untenable in itself and in its consequences.

For the second maxim, they taught that every thing essential in religion was in the scripture, and certainly, if the scripture was the sole rule of faith, the whole system of faith must be found there entire. The inference is logical, but no less false in itself than the principle from which it is derived. And this we shall shortly prove.

But previously it may be observed and collected from each of these principles, how little the first ages were then understood. The reformers were always boasting of the purity of those times, and with good reason: they were desirous, as they said, to reproduce this golden age of Christianity, and the renovated world was again to behold the restoration of the primitive Church which they always contrasted with the Church of Rome.--- They acted upon these three following suppositions : 1st, That antiquity had possessed no other rule of life but the holy scripture : 2ndly, that it had never believed or practised any dogmas or precepts but what were found therein : 3rdly, that those which are not discovered therein had been added to the simplicity of faith and worship, in what they called the times of ignorance and corruption:

ing; but if we interrogate them, they hold a dignified silence. It is the same with the scripture, which knows neither what it should conceal from one man, nor what it should say to another. If it is attacked or insulted without cause, it cannot defend itself; for its father is never there to defend it; so that he who imagines that he can establish by scripture alone, a clear and durable doctrine, is a great simpleton." (Plat. in Phædr. Op. t. X. edit. Bipont. p. 382.) Glory to the truth ! " (exclaims upon this the eloquent Comte de Maistre) if the "*Word* eternally living does not vivify the scripture, never will the scripture become the *Word*, that is to say, *Life*. " Let others then, as long as they please, call upon the *dumb word*, we shall laugh in security at this *false good*, always " waiting with a tender impatience for the moment in which " its deluded votaries shall cast themselves into our arms, open " to receive them now for nearly three hundred years."

whence they concluded that by retrenching these superfluous additions, which they also pronounced to be, superstitious and idolatrous, and by following what they supposed to be the rule of antiquity,* they should infallibly tally with it, and thus bring back the Church to its primitive purity. Such was the visionary proposal made by them on their appearance in the world: in their sincerity and simplicity, if you please, but more probably, in their ignorance of the first ages. For you have already seen, with regard to the first point, Sir, that antiquity has laid the rule of faith in the doctrine of the bishops, according to the ordinance of Jesus Christ and the instructions of the apostles: on the third, you shall see clearly in the course of this examination that the articles, treated as posterior additions, belong to the primitive times: on the second, I am about to shew you that, far from thinking that the dogmas and precepts were exclusively contained in scripture, antiquity teaches us after the scripture itself,

* In 1528, at the dispute at Berne, at which were present Zuinglius, Pellican, Bucer, Bullinger, Oecolampadius, and Capto, the second of the six theses asserted: "The Church of Christ does not make ordinances and laws without the word of God." (a) And here they were only treating of those laws which regard salvation and bind conscience, according to the explanation given to the theses by Kolb, in the name of the reformed.—Bucer, replying to a Catholic, asserts 'that it had been already proved, that the true Church makes no regulation which is not clearly established in scripture' (b)

In 1536, in the disputation at Lausanne, Virel said, 'that it was not sufficient to say: I have found it written (in the Fathers), but we must keep to the scripture: and this it is that makes the Church of the Lord.' (c) 'The holy fathers, declared Jewel in the name of the Church of England, have never combated heretics except by the arms of the scripture.' (c) 'And thus, he tells us (a little later), when we desired to restore the Church to its primitive purity and integrity, we did not attempt to build upon any other foundation than the one laid by the apostles and Jesus Christ: after having attended to what he himself has said to us, after having considered the example of the primitive Church, we proceeded, &c.' (d)

(a) *Histoire de la reforme de la Suisse*, par Ruchat, professeur de belles lettres à Lausanne, tom. II. p. 95. edit. de Geneve, 1727.—(b) *Ibid.* tom. VI. p. 34, 35.—(c) *Apolog.* ch. I. no. 15.—(d) *Ibid.* ch. VI. no. 16, 17.

that many articles are derived to us from the apostles by a purely oral tradition.

The clergy of Elizabeth, in unison with the innovators of the continent, and like them in opposition to the sacred books and antiquity, declared accordingly, that 'the holy 'scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; 'so that whatsoever is not read therein, or can not be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it 'should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought 'requisite or necessary to salvation.'^a But without going any further, shew us, my Lords, the validity of your baptism, by scripture alone. Jesus Christ there ordains that it shall be conferred, not by pouring water on the heads of the believers, but by the believers plunging into water. The word βαπτίζω employed by the Evangelists, strictly conveys this signification, as the learned are agreed, and at the head of them, Casaubon, of all the Calvinists, the best versed in the Greek language. Now baptism by immersion has ceased for many ages, and you yourselves, as well as we have, only received it by infusion: it would therefore be all up with your baptism, unless you established the validity of it by tradition and the practice of the Church. And again, we see from scripture that Jesus Christ commanded his apostles and their successors to preach and baptize; but we do not read any where that he communicated this right to heretics, whom he treated as pagans. This being settled, I ask you, from whom have you received baptism? Is it not from the Church of Rome? And what do you think of her? Do you not consider her as heretical and even idolatrous? You cannot then, according to the terms of scripture, prove the validity of your baptism; and to produce a proof for it, you are obliged to seek it, with Pope Stephen and the councils of Arles and Nice, in apostolical tradition.

You recognise with us the precept of sanctifying the Sunday, and considering the care with which you inculcate it to your people and the wise regulations of government that concur with your instructions to confirm it in

^aArticle 6

their minds,* I cannot doubt that you regard this precept as necessary to salvation. Nevertheless, it must be allowed, scripture is absolutely silent upon this precept: we every where read Sabbath (Saturday): and no where Sunday. And here again, the third time, are you obliged, in an essential matter to support yourselves with us upon tradition, which shews us, from time immemorial, the Sunday as substituted for the Sabbath or Saturday, in order to celebrate on one and the same day the two great prodigies of the ancient and modern eras, the universe coming forth from nothing, and Jesus Christ from his tomb.

In order to discard tradition, you tell us, my Lords, that the scripture contains every thing that is necessary to salvation. A strange and fantastical doctrine! and such I cannot but call it, seeing that you are most positively indebted to tradition for the scriptures, that

*For the honor of the English government and for the shame of catholic countries, I am bound to publish, that the Sunday is observed in England with an exterior regularity, which we unfortunately, are far from equalling. On this day, especially consecrated to God, the laws and customs allow no public assemblies, out of the churches and temples: no balls, no routs, no masquerades, no Renelagh, no Vauxhall; all theatrical amusements are forbidden. In London, where commerce is so prodigiously carried on, the public conveyances remain at rest, the course of letters is suspended, the post does not receive them, although it is permitted to them in the evening to make their way to their destination: throughout the whole kingdom, stage waggons employed in trade or commerce stop on the high roads. I know not whether an act passed upon a Sunday would not be annulled by its very date alone. Certain, however, it is, that the civil power is obliged to suspend its pursuits, and concede to the debtor the right of appearing freely on the day of the Lord. On this day, moreover, the parliament is closed, in spite of the urgency of affairs; and I have often seen it respectfully interrupt its sessions at the approach of great solemnities. It must be confessed that there is in these laws a tone of wisdom and gravity that makes an impression on the mind.

English persons of distinction have often testified to me their astonishment at not finding in catholic countries the same respect for the Sunday. They have declared to me that they had been much scandalized on the subject, and certainly they had but too much reason to be so.

you receive them from its hands, and that without it, you would not know to what to betake yourselves to demonstrate their authenticity: for we do not prove that a book is written by such an apostle or such an Evangelist, except that it has been received and read as such in the Churches. But supposing that to please you for a moment, we must admit your sixth article. I cheerfully consent to do so, and at the same time we will open these inspired writings. What do we read there? 'Now I praise you brethren that you keep my ordinances as I have delivered them to you.^a Stand fast (mark this well I pray you) and hold the traditions which you have learned, *whether* by word or by our epistle.^b' Now let us look again at your article. What would the apostles say to it? He desires that they hold equally fast what he had taught them, whether by writing or by word of mouth. And what is it you desire, my lords? Nothing but what is written. That is sufficient. I go on reading: 'O Timothy keep that which is committed to thy trust.^c Hold the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me in faith, and in the love which is in Christ Jesus. Keep the good thing committed to thy trust by the Holy Ghost, who dwelleth in us.^d And the things which thou hast heard of me by many witnesses, the same commend to faithful men, who shall be fit to teach others.'^e Apparently you doubt not, my lords, that Timothy followed this direction, and that faithful and fit men being instructed by him, instructed others in their turn. Thus from hand to hand, from age to age, the deposit is come down to you. And all at once you refuse to accept it; you refuse to transmit it, you interrupt, you break the traditional and apostolic chain; and, under pretext of holding to scripture alone, you disregard its repeated and most evident injunctions. Honestly confess, my lords, you did not think, by throwing aside tradition, that you would become embarrassed in contradictions both with yourselves and with the holy Scripture. We as well as you, receive it, we venerate it, as the most noble present that

^aI Tim. ch. VI. VI. v. 20.—^bII. Tim. ch. I v. 13, 14.—^cIbid. ch. II. v. 2.—^dI. Cor. ch. XI.—^eII. Thes. ch. II. v. 14.

God has made to man ; do you also honor in the same manner with us his unwritten word, since it comes not the less from Him. Change your article : let us stand fast together, according to the precept of the apostle, and retain all that has been taught, whether by word of mouth or by writing.

I return to you, Sir, and I entreat you to weigh the observations I have yet to make to you on this important matter. They are suggested to us by the example of the apostles and their successors, during the illustrious ages of the Church. 1st. We often see that Jesus Christ commands his apostles to preach his gospel and carry it to all nations. 'Go (said he to them) teach all nations whatever I have commanded you.' We nowhere find that he said to them: Go ; *write* for all nations what I command you to believe and practice, and let them always have in their hands and under their eyes the most exact detail of their faith drawn out by your pen. We behold the apostles and the disciples, after having received the Holy Spirit, traversing the whole of Judea, announcing to their countrymen the kingdom of God : every thing is done by exhortations, by instructions and by prayers. If they had intended to give to the world, and to leave after them a complete code of revealed laws, it would seem natural that they should have drawn out this code, before their separation. Let us observe them therefore at the moment, when, dividing the world among them to accelerate its conquest, they are on the point of leaving Jerusalem and Judea, and of proceeding, each his way, to their particular destination. They separate, and carry with them no writing, no body of doctrine drawn up by common agreement. They all, however, carry the same gospel, but in their minds and hearts ; they traverse cities, provinces, kingdoms, and do not present themselves to the nations with the sacred books in their hands : they preach from their inspired mouths the evangelical doctrine, but never produce it in writing. To see them and follow them, they seem not even to think of any means of instructing men by the eyes. They are totally occupied with preaching and not with writing : with engraving the word, not upon the lips, but on the souls of men.

Many years had already passed, and no work had as yet appeared from their pen.* You will remark that out of twelve apostles, two only have left us a gospel, and even St. John at a very advanced age, at Ephesus, under the Emperor Nerva, in the year 96. If you examine the occasions which induced them to write, you will find that particular and local circumstances gave birth to these writings, as well as to all those that compose the New Testament. We owe the gospel of St. Mark to the fervour and eagerness of the Christians at Rome. Eusebius tells us upon the testimony of Clement of Alexandria,^b that 'the hearers of St. Peter besought Mark, his disciple, to put in writing the doctrine of the Saviour. He did so; and Peter, inspired from above, examined this work, approved it, confirmed it with his authority, and ordered that it should be read in the Churches.' St. Luke commences by informing us of the motive that induced him to write. Ignorant and rude men, hurried on by a blind and culpable zeal had attempted of their own heads to relate the words and the actions of our Saviour: their writings were spreading among the christians under the false titles of the gospels according to Peter, Thomas, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthias, the twelve apostles, &c. It was of consequence that these miserable rhapsodies, should be put down. St. Paul exhorted his disciples to publish an exact narrative, and Luke executed it under the eye of his master, in Achaia and Bœotia, according to St. Jerome, in the year 58, the second of Nero. As for St. John, it was to refute the heresies of Cerinthus and the Ebionites that, taking his lofty flight beyond the bounds of time, he shews us Jesus Christ in the bosom of the divinity, the Son of God, God himself, and then re-descends with him upon earth, to relate to us his incarnation, his life and ministry among men.

* We must except the gospel of St. Matthew: for we learn from St. Chrysostom (*a*) that eight years after the ascension of our Saviour, at the time when he was going to preach to the Gentiles, St. Matthew, at the solicitation of the Jews, sketched out, in their language, a History of Jesus Christ and his revelation.—^b Hist. Eccles. Lib. II. ch. XIV.

(*a*) On St. Matthew.

The epistles, for the most part, are either answers to consultations, or instructions to Churches especially mentioned, or even to individuals. Called forth by local circumstances, but always dictated by the Holy Spirit, they appear successively at different epochs, at distant periods of time: adapted to the circumstances of the place, of the persons and sometimes of the moment, they treat of particular and relative subjects, although at the same time they contain advice, lessons and precepts that are applicable to christians in general. But this does not authorize us to announce, or suppose in the sacred writer, much less in the college of the apostles, a settled resolution, a premeditated design of drawing out for us a complete body of doctrine. It is true that all these writings were received with a singular avidity by the faithful to whom they were addressed; true also that they were communicated one after another with a holy eagerness, and that, from the day on which they were first known to the moment I am addressing you, they have been read in all religious assemblies, in all the Churches of the world, and that this will be done perpetually to the end of time. It is true, that in them the doctrine of the apostles was recognised, their word tasted, their preaching discovered, and that though absent, they seemed still to be heard. It is true, that the first christians must have admired the agreement and resemblance of what they read with what they had heard. Yet nevertheless they could not but remark that all that they had heard was not there; they could not therefore, in receiving these works as the sacred deposit of the divine word, regard them as the sole and only deposit of this word. In fact, did the apostles ever signify that, for belief and practice we must confine ourselves to what they were writing? Did they ever signify, that they had entrusted to writing all that they had preached by word of mouth, or even all that was necessary for salvation? There is not an expression of the kind in the whole of the New Testament. It comes from your reformers, who have drawn it from their brain or borrowed it from the ancient heresies, but not from the Holy Scripture, whatever protestation they all may perpetually be making, that they teach nothing but what

is there. Let them shew you then this principle, since they admit it and wish you to admit it; let them shew it to you in the sacred volume. But how could they do it, when the contrary principle is found therein contained in so many words. For you have seen St. Paul frequently referring to the instructions he had given by word of mouth; you have heard him positively distinguishing between his verbal and epistolary instructions and prescribing that both the one and the other must be equally observed. Up to the time of your forefathers in 1562, this order had been observed in England as well as upon the Continent, until the day when the Reformation shewed its head. At this epoch, so fatal to your country and my own, the precept of St. Paul was solemnly transgressed for the first time, and for the first time it was said: In what pertains to salvation, there is nothing but what is written. But the first Christians who passed many years without the Scriptures, who received them successively one after another, and waited for the Gospel of St. John till the year 96: but those barbarous and yet most religious people who had not even then any Scripture when St. Irenæus wrote of them towards the end of the second age, they would not have known either what they ought to believe, or what they ought to practice; they would have been without resource for salvation—they who laboured for it to an extent and with an energy of faith to which we shall never attain! The Reformation must here maintain at least that the means which they then possessed of knowing the law, and which sufficed for them, became absolutely useless as soon as heaven chose to add a second, and that the word reduced to legible characters stripped the word that was not so, of the merit and value it had hitherto enjoyed in the Christian world. I have been proving to you, Sir, that this notion is no ways in accordance with the conduct and doctrine of the apostles; you shall now see that it accords no better with the conduct and doctrine of their successors, and that antiquity was never acquainted with any such opinion.

2ndly, I will suppose that the reformed Church has to pronounce upon a question of faith. How is it to set about approving or condemning the doctrine submitted

to its decision? It knows nothing but the Scripture; all that relates to salvation is to be found there; nothing can be required that is not read there in full, or that cannot be drawn from it by a sound and lawful inference. It would not and could not therefore have any thing but the Scriptures to consult. But this was not the way of proceeding that antiquity followed. It examined not only the Scriptures, but also what was believed and taught by the Churches, above all by the apostolic Churches, and what the most celebrated Fathers had signified in their works; its examination was directed both to the holy Scripture and the doctrine of Tradition, to the written and unwritten word of God. We will, if you please, produce an example, the most illustrious to be found, and which will dispense with our accumulating here a multitude of facts. The great council of Nice had to pronounce upon Arius, who was pretending to justify his doctrine by Scripture. We learn from the historians of the time in what manner it proceeded in its examination: ‘The bishops.....opposed to the false subtilties of the Arians the great truths of Scripture, and the ancient belief of the Church, from the apostles till then.’—‘After having a long time, *manfully* and *fully* considered this adorable subject, it appeared to all our bishops together, that the substantiality was to be defined as of faith, in the same manner as this faith had been transmitted by our fathers, after the apostles.’^b You see here a fundamental question solemnly decided according to both authorities, according to Scripture upon which Arius placed his reliance, and according to the tradition of the holy Fathers, conformably with which the decision was carried. The single fact of itself crumbles to ruins the principle of the Reformation, and shows how far it has wandered from the ancient way.

But I will now adduce something else, quite of a different character, but equally powerful for my purpose; another question of importance, celebrated for its antagonists, who were, on the one side the head of the Church, on the other, the primate of Africa; and which

^a Maimburgh after Eusebius.—^b Gelasius.

of St. Basil on the same passage : ‘ Among the points of belief and practice in the Church, some were delivered in writing, while others were received by apostolic tradition in mystery, that is in a hidden manner : but both have equal authority as far as piety is concerned ; nor are they opposed by any one who is but slightly versed in ecclesiastical rites. For if we attempt to reject, as matters of little moment, such points, as were not written, we shall, by our imprudence, offer a signal injury to the gospel.’^a And again of St. Epiphanius, who proves the necessity of tradition. ‘ We must look to tradition, says he ; for all things cannot be learned from scriptures. For which reason the holy apostles left some things in writing, and others not.’^b

And if it had observed, what particularly merits observation from its singularity, our very question proposed in express terms by a celebrated writer of the second century and decided as follows : ‘ But you say, (writes Tertullian) even in speaking of tradition, some written authority is necessary. Let us then enquire whether no tradition should be admitted, unless it be written.’ (This is precisely the objection laid claim to by the reformed religion : attend to its refutation.) ‘ I will allow, that it should not, if no examples of other practices can be adduced, which we maintain on the sole title of tradition, and the strength of custom, without the smallest written authority. To begin with baptism ; when on the point of entering the water, we protest, in the Church and under the hands of the bishops, that we renounce the devil, and his pomps and his angels : after this, we are immersed three separate times, replying something more than our Saviour presented in the gospel. Leaving the water we take a mixture of milk and honey ; and from this time, for the space of a week, we refrain from the daily bath. The sacrament of the Eucharist, instituted by the Lord, at the time of the repast and for all, we take in our assemblies before day, and only from the hand of him who presides. We offer for the dead ; we annually celebrate the birth of

^a De Spir. Sancto. c. 27. T. III. p. 54. Ed. Bened. Paris, 1721.
^b Har. 55, T. I. p. 471. Ed. Colonizæ. 1682.

‘the martyrs’ (The day of their death is the day of their birth to immortality) ‘Of these and other usages if you ask for the written authority of the scriptures, none will be found. They spring from tradition, which practice has confirmed and obedience ratified.’^a

The day would not suffice, to adopt the expression of St. Basil,^b were I to attempt to describe to you all that the fathers have said on the subject of tradition. I am not surprised that they so frequently insist upon it; they were but two or three degrees from the origin of the Church: they had a near view of the means and regula-

^a De corona Militis, c. III. IV. p. 282. Edit. Rothomagi. 1662.

^b ‘The day would not be sufficient, were I to attempt to relate to you all the mysteries transmitted to the Church without writing.’ (a) ‘To omit others, from what writing have we this profession of faith in God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost (the apostles creed)?’ He had said before: ‘Which of the saints have left us in writing the words of invocation in the consecration of the eucharistic bread and chalice? For we do not confine ourselves to those which the gospel and the apostle mention: we make additions before and after, as being of great importance to the mystery, and which all come down to us by an unwritten tradition.’ (b) And again, the following remarkable words occur in the same passage: ‘The apostles and the fathers, who have from the beginning, prescribed certain rites to the Church, knew how to preserve for mysteries their becoming dignity, by the secrecy and silence in which it kept them enveloped. For what is thrown open to the ear and the gaze of the people, is no longer absolutely mysterious. For this reason have many things been transmitted to us without writing, lest the vulgar, becoming too much familiarized with our dogmas, should pass from familiarity to contempt. The dogma is one thing, and preaching another. Dogmas require to be kept silent—preaching to be public. There is, moreover, another kind of silence, that of obscurity, in which the scripture purposely conceals itself to render the dogmas more difficult to be comprehended.’ And now, Sir, draw your conclusion, what this learned bishop of Cesarea (c) would have thought of your reformation, that pretends to take every thing from scripture and nothing from tradition.

(a) De Spir. Sancto. c. 27. T. III. p. 54. Ed. Bened. Paris, 1721.

(b) De Spir. Sancto. C. 27. T. III.—(c) St. Basil, archbishop of Cesarea, in Cappadocia, died in 379.

tions that had tended to aggrandize and extend it: they held in mind that the apostles, entirely occupied in the ministry of the word, had rarely taken up the pen, and only from accident and necessity; that their preaching had been daily and abundant; their writing accidental and short; that supposing the ground of the doctrine to be in their writings, the developement of it could not be found there also; that for the detail they must always have recourse to their verbal explanations; that, even on their mysteries and dogmas, they had in their works designly thrown a certain veil of obscurity to prevent the profane from having access to them. whilst in the midst of the faithful and their friends, they expressed themselves openly and without restraint; in fine, that they never committed to writing the words and prayers with which they accompanied the celebration of the mysteries. These sacred and often essential forms were deposited in the hearts and the memory, and transmitted from mouth to mouth more securely in secret. After the example of their masters, the apostolic fathers wrote little: they also had their time taken up in active employment, rather than in composing works: and when they took up their pen it was scarcely ever for any other reason than to make known to strangers, what they had heard preached by the apostles. Day by day did they repeat it round about them to their audience, and occasionally communicated it at a distance by writing. In this manner, in the Churches where the apostles had preached, their doctrine was preserved by the succession of disciples to the apostles, of hearers of the disciples to these same disciples, and thus from one to another. As for those from without, it reached them by means of communications carried on from one Church to another: a steady and active correspondence attested and propagated through the world the instructions derived from the apostles and Jesus Christ, by establishing, according to the vigorous expression of Tertullian, *consanguinity* of doctrine in all the Churches of the world.

Did any doubt or new question arise, recourse was immediately had to the apostolic Churches: they consulted by preference those Churches, in which 'pre-sided still the chairs, whence the apostles had often de-

‘livered their public discourses,^a (and which after them seem to have been left vacant from respect;) in which were recited their authentic epistles, that recalled as it were the sound of their voices and the features of their countenances.’^b Observe that Tertullian joins here the chairs of the apostles with their epistles, to indicate that the written word and the word delivered by preaching always went together. ‘Are you in the neighbourhood of Achaia? You have Corinth: are you at no great distance from Macedonia? You have the Church of the Phillippians, and of the Thessalonians: but if you can reach as far as Asia, you have Ephesus; approach Italy, and you have Rome,’^c the dignity of which Tertullian forgets not to set off in the most noble and sensible manner according to the true principles of Christianity. ‘See what Rome has learned, what it has taught, and the perfect harmony of its doctrine with that of the African Churches.’ Thus you will understand, Sir, they did not upon new questions involve themselves in disputes which end in nothing: they did not permit themselves to be carried away by their private fancy or their enthusiasm: they did not abandon themselves to learned and laborious disquisitions, they did not regulate themselves according to the ostentation and display of a few teachers: all was decided by the doctrine and the tradition of the apostolical Churches. It was in this, according to the happy expression of Thomassin, that consisted their learned simplicity and their solid method of examining questions of faith.

A particular circumstance contributed much to preserve in these illustrious ages: the purity of the apostolic traditions. God, in the views of his providence over his Church, permitted during dangers and persecutions, that some of these first and holy bishops should extend their career to a very advanced age: and as formerly, in

^a Tertull. on Prescript.—^b Ibid.

^c The Church of Ephesus, founded by Paul, governed by John (He there terminated his days after having resided there a long time with the mother whom Jesus Christ bequeathed to him from the height of the cross), until the reign of Trajan, is without contradiction one of the best witnesses of apostolic tradition.—Irenæus, ch. XXIII.—^d Tertull. Ibid.

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the old world, the patriarchs, by means of their long years, more easily transmitted to posterity what they had learned from their fathers and grandfathers on the creation of the world, the dogmas of religion and the principal features of the antediluvian history, so in Christianity these venerable old men served to testify that the faith of their time was exactly the same as that which they had received from the apostles and the disciples of the apostles. Not to speak of St. John, who lived a century, and of his centenary disciple Polycarp, who suffered martyrdom in 166, we learn from Clement of Alexandria, 'that some of those who had immediately succeeded the apostles, and preserved the tradition of the true doctrine preached by Saints, Peter, James, John and Paul, had lived till the time in which he was writing his *Stromata*, to sow and cultivate the seed of true faith in the minds of men.'^a This remark, it must be allowed, would have been as useless as misplaced, on the principle of the reformation: for what need was there of the long life of these holy personages to preserve the apostolic traditions, and cultivate in the mind the seed of true faith, if there had been nothing for them to believe or practice but what they read in the scriptures, or what could easily be deduced therefrom?

However, Sir, do not imagine that by here making war with the first promoters of the reformation, I mean to extend the same reproaches to all those who have since been born in its bosom. Among the distinguished characters of which it has reason to boast, there are a great number who have thought themselves bound to abandon it in its overstretched maxims on the sufficiency of the scriptures: this must be said to their praise, it is

^a Clement of Alexandria, died in 217. He wrote his *Stromata* towards the end of the second century. Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem in 212, succeeded Narcissus, who died at the age of 116 years, being born, of course, in 96, when the aged Simeon was bishop of Jerusalem. Simeon, suffered martyrdom in 108, aged 120, born, therefore, 12 years before Jesus Christ. Narcissus, who died about the year 220, aged 124, and who was born, of course, about the year 96, must have seen Simeon twelve years: Alexander, in 212, coadjutor of Narcissus, eight years: he suffered martyrdom in 255.

an act of justice due to them, which I take pleasure in discharging. Scarcely were the first controversies opened, when many already perceived that, in the spirit of party, they had carried things too far. They began by entering into a composition upon the principle, being desirous indeed to admit tradition upon certain points, and to reject it upon others, for the honor of the reformation.^a These primary concessions opened the way for others more open and less limited, and some wise and enlightened minds, after calmly contemplating the pre-

* It is remarkable that the Confession of Augsburgh (*a*) and the apology declare, that they do not despise the agreement of the Catholic Church, and go so far as to appeal to the authority of the ancient Church. Zuinglius (*b*) grants that the apostles taught by word of mouth, and that the epistles they sent were rather to confirm the people in what they had learned, than to instruct them.

Calvin and Beza were not slow in having recourse to tradition against the Arians, sprung from their school. Ochin had said (*c*) 'The sacred words are of themselves very clear, even in things necessary for salvation: and if the Trinity does not clearly appear in them, no one is obliged to believe in it. I do not find that the Holy Spirit is there called God or Lord. I had rather enter a cloister than acknowledge that.' (*d*) But Calvin, leading them to the unwritten word, taught them from the second epistle to Timothy: 'By this is repelled the arrogance of any senseless creatures, who boast that they stand in no need of teachers, because the reading of the scriptures is sufficient. He that shall make no account of the aid of the living voice, and shall content himself with the dumb scripture, shall feel how great an evil it is to despise the means ordained by God and Jesus Christ for being instructed.' (*e*) 'What then! holy fathers,' exclaimed Beza (*f*) against Stator, Ochin and others, 'you, who for so many years, not in word alone but in writings which shall never perish, have, contrary to the authority of so many kings, princes, and heretics, with so much labour, even to the shedding of your blood, defended the great mystery of the Trinity, shall it be said that you are imprudent and ignorant? O Athanasius! thou who didst on account of this subject traverse almost the whole world, for what reason didst thou compose and construct that admirable creed with so much brevity, &c. (*g*)

[*a*] Art. 21.—[*b*] Tom. II. fol. 43.—[*c*] Dial. 2.—[*d*] Dial. 4 — [*e*] Cited in Florimond, p. 955.—[*f*] Ibid. 959.—[*g*] Beza's book on the punishment of heretics.

cepts of the apostles, the spirit of the primitive Church, and the confidence they could not refuse to the piety, and fervour of the first ages, to the depositions and testimony of all those holy bishops and illustrious martyrs of Jesus Christ, have felt the irresistable force of the proofs, and have openly adopted the ideas and the language of antiquity upon tradition. Of these I could cite many; but shall confine myself to three or four whom I shall not choose among the least known or distinguished.

Grotius shall speak the first.* ‘From the confession of Rivet, what is said by the apostles, either by the express command of God, or with full deliberation, has not less authority than what has been written by them. Nothing is more true. Now, that the apostles have not written all they have uttered, St. Paul himself testifies, by ordering that we submit to all that he had taught whether *by word or by writing*.’ Here Grotius subjoins the passage from St. Chrysostom which I have cited above, and concludes that in both cases the authority is the same. ‘But, says the Doctor, we are sure of the writings; we cannot be so of the words. This I positively deny. The writings are full of variations, as is seen on comparing the manuscripts. In some there are particles which are not in others. There is a diversity of words, whether insulated or united. To separate and collect the original is neither a small labour, nor always successful. But how can we be certain that there are apostolic traditions? says Doctor Rivet. In this way. In the first place, it may reasonably be presumed that we must attribute to the apostles what is found to prevail every where, and what has no other known origin. To this if you add the witnesses of acknowledged piety, prudence, and authority in the Church, and who say to you; This comes from the apostles, we have then all the proof that can be de-

* This is taken from his *Votum pro pace*, page 137, a judicious and impartial little work, composed against Rivet and those who, like him, were opposed to a reconciliation with the Catholic Church. It is much to be regretted that this work is not more known. It cannot be too much recommended to the perusal of all protestant societies. You will find it in English, a *voice for peace*.

‘sired upon these matters, the same precisely by which we distinguish the apostolic writings from those which are not so.’

‘I grant also, writes M. Leibnitz to Bossuet,^a that not only the knowledge of the canon (of the scriptures) but even of any part of the scripture is not absolutely necessary; that there are many people without the scripture, and that oral instruction, or tradition, may supply its defect.’ Compare this acknowledgment with the principle of the reformation. M. Leibnitz gives more to tradition than St. Irenæus asked for it in the second century.

He had said in a preceding letter:^b ‘The question is whether the revealed truths are all of them in the sacred scripture, or are come at least from apostolic tradition, which is not denied by many of the more accommodating among protestants.’ Upon which the illustrious prelate observes: ‘We are not here disputing about apostolic traditions, since you yourself say that the more accommodating, that is, as I understand, not only the most learned, but also the most judicious protestants, do not deny it, as I believe in fact I have remarked in your learned Calixtus and his disciples.’^c

M. Leibnitz moreover, or rather M. Molanus, his skillful associate in the project of conciliation, treats tradition or the unwritten word as follows.^d ‘What disputes are started upon this subject! They may easily be terminated by saying that the question between us and the catholics is not whether there are traditions, but whether there are any articles necessary for salvation, which are not in scripture, or which cannot be fairly inferred from it. This latter is what protestants deny. But the more moderate amongst them are agreed that we are indebted to tradition not only for the scripture, but also for its true and orthodox sense in the fundamental articles; not to speak of other things

^a Letter the 36th in the *Œuvres de Bossuet*, tom. XI. Paris edition in 4to. 1778.—^b Letter the 31st *Ibid.* tom. II.

^c Letter the 32nd in the *Œuvres de Bossuet*, tom. II. Paris edition in 4to. 1778.—^d *Œuvres posthumes de Bossuet*, vol. I. p. 93. Amsterdam edition in 4to. 1753.

‘ which Calixtus, Horneius, and Chemnitius have long
 ‘ since acknowledged can not be known, except by this
 ‘ means. Certainly those among the protestants who
 ‘ receive, with the apostles’ and the Athanasian creed,
 ‘ the five first general councils and the councils of
 ‘ Orange and Melevis, with the agreement of at least the
 ‘ five first ages, as a second principle in theology, in
 ‘ such manner that the fundamental articles cannot be
 ‘ otherwise explained than they have been by the un-
 ‘ animous consent of the doctors, will scarcely have
 ‘ wherewith to dispute with the Church of Rome.’ The
 observation of M. Bossuet upon this chapter of M. Mo-
 lanus is very short. ‘ As for what relates to tradition
 ‘ the same author is agreed with us, that we are indebt-
 ‘ ed to it not only for the Holy Scripture, but also for
 ‘ *the legitimate and natural interpretation of this scrip-*
 ‘ *ture, and that there are truths that we cannot know ex-*
 ‘ *cept by its assistance*: which is quite sufficient for us:
 ‘ so that on this article we are completely reconciled, if
 ‘ we are to believe this learned writer.’^a

It may appear strange to you, and yet it is very true, that the man who perhaps had the most to do with the drawing up of the thirty-nine articles, I mean Bishop Jewell, continually rests upon tradition, upon the fathers and the primitive Church, in the Apology that he published in 1562, with the approbation of his brethren, and by-order of the supreme governess, and also, as we are assured, with the unlimited applause of all the protestant societies in Europe. Here then is the authority of tradition recognized, invoked, and appealed to in their own defence by the spiritual lords of the convocation, at the very time they had just been rejecting it indirectly, by declaring that the scripture alone was to be applied to for every essential of salvation. Let these gentlemen settle it among one another as they know best. As for myself, I throw aside here their sixth article, and adhere to the authentic testimony of their apology in favor of tradition.

In a most excellent work, entitled *England's Conversion and Reformation compared*,^b I find a passage

^a Œuvres posthumes de Bossuet, vol. 1. p. 215.--^b Page 34. Antwerp, 1736.

taken from a protestant work,^a the author of which was probably a member of the Church of England. This protestant writer, who is quoted, after having considered the precepts of St. Paul on oral traditions, makes the following reflections :^b ‘ Here we see plain mention of Saint Paul’s tradition, consequently of apostolical traditions delivered by word of mouth, as well as by epistles or in writing ; and a condemnation of those who do not equally observe both (and still more a condemnation of those, who despise them so far as to put them quite aside as the authors of the reformation and of the sixth article have done.) ‘ Thus it is evident (continues he, page 78), ‘ that the whole of Christianity, was at first delivered to the bishops succeeding the apostles by *oral tradition* ; and they were also commanded to keep it, and deliver it to their successors in the same manner, nor is it any where found in scripture by St. Paul or any other of the apostles ; *that they would either jointly or separately write down all that they had taught as necessary to salvation*, or that they would make such a complete canon of them, that nothing should be necessary to salvation but what should be found in these writings.’ These most just observations directly oppose the sixth article, and must be considered as an unequivocal disavowal of them.

‘ I am^c not of those who admire the great knowledge in divine matters revealed in this latter age of the world, I do not think there are any now so likely to discover the truth of gospel mysteries as those of ancient days. As for that saying ; a pigmy set on a giant’s shoulder may see more than the giant ; pardon me if I call it a shallow and silly fancy, nothing to our purpose ; for our question is not of seeing more, but of the clear discerning and judging those things we all see, but are in doubt what they mean ; if a pigmy and a giant see a beast at a mile distant, and are in dispute whether it be a horse or an ox, the pigmy set on the giant’s shoulder, is never the nearer discerning what it is, which depends on the sharpness of sight, not on

Tradition necessary....^b Pages 32, 33....^c From Lord Somers’s Tract, p. 341. Vol. III.

‘ the height of his shoulders: Now that the ancient and
 ‘ holy fathers of the Church were more spiritual and
 ‘ consequently sharper sighted in spiritual things than
 ‘ we carnal creatures of this latter age is evident by their
 ‘ spiritual holy lives: The natural man receiveth not
 ‘ the things of the Spirit of God, neither can he know
 ‘ them, because they are spiritually discerned. I. Cor.
 ‘ ii. 14. And how natural, how carnal, how purblind we
 ‘ are, is too visible. Besides a purblind man near
 ‘ the object will discern it better than a much sharper
 ‘ sight at a greater distance as we are. For if you ask
 ‘ those lofty conceited pigmies why they give more cre-
 ‘ dit to the fathers of the second and third century, than
 ‘ to those of the sixth or seventh, they answer, because
 ‘ those that lived nearer the days of Christ and his
 ‘ apostles, are likelier to know their minds better than
 ‘ those of remoter and corrupted ages; the reason is
 ‘ good, but mightily confounds those, who live at the very
 ‘ part of the hill in the valley of darkness and all iniqui-
 ‘ ty, and therefore not so likely to discern the truth of
 ‘ the doctrine of Christ, preached on the top of Mount
 ‘ Sion, as those who lived in higher ascents. Where-
 ‘ fore I shall always hearken with due reverence unto
 ‘ what those primitive holy fathers deliver, and the more
 ‘ holy and more ancient, doubtless more to be regarded.’

Beveridge,^a the learned bishop of St. Asaph’s, after
 having said, to humour the sixth of the thirty-nine articles,
 that in the precepts necessary for salvation the Scripture
 was very clear to all eyes, developes his sentiments as
 follows: ‘ In objects of doctrine and disciplin, if we would
 ‘ neither err nor transgress, let us beware above all things
 ‘ of adhering obstinately to our conceptions and conjec-
 ‘ tures, or to those of others. Let us rather examine what
 ‘ has been the opinion of the universal Church, or at
 ‘ least of the major part of Christians: and let us at-
 ‘ tach ourselves to the opinion that has been unanimous-
 ‘ ly adopted by the Christians of all ages. For as in the
 ‘ entire consent of all consists the voice of nature, says
 ‘ Cicero, so in disputed points the consent of all Chris-

^a Latin preface to the collection of canons of the primitive Church.

‘tians should be held as the voice of the gospel. There are many articles which are not read in express terms in the Scripture, and which nevertheless are deduced from it by the universal assent of Christians : for example, that we must adore three distinct persons in the holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost ; that each of these is God, and that nevertheless there is but one God ; that Christ is God and man in one and the same person (are these articles necessary for salvation or not ?) These points and similar others are not traced out at full length in either of the two Testaments ; and nevertheless, that they are founded upon both, is what is agreed and has always been agreed by Christians, with the exception of some heretics, whom we must consider in religion as we do monsters in nature. And again, that the infant should be washed in the holy water of baptism and the sabbath religiously observed ; that every year we must solemnize the passion, resurrection and ascension of our Saviour and the descent of the Holy Ghost, and that the Church must be governed by bishops, distinguished from priests, and superior to them ; these articles and others besides are no where expressly commanded in holy writ ; and nevertheless, for these fifteen hundred years, they have been followed in the public practice of the Church : they are, as it were notions common to all, planted from the beginning in the hearts of Christians, derived from the tradition of the apostles, who, together with the faith, propagated in the world these ecclesiastical rites, and, if I may term them so, these general interpretations of the gospel ; otherwise it would be incredible, and even impossible that they should have obtained so unanimous a reception in all places, in all times and among all Christians.’

Among the partisans and defenders of the primitive traditions, you may also reckon Thorndike, Collier, Bull, Samuel Parker, Bramhall, Dodwell, Waterland, &c.^a

^a That I may not extend my citations too far, I shall content myself with adding the following names of their brethren : —

The archbishops Tillotson and Wake : bishops Bilson, Montague, Andrews, Potter, Cosins, Bramhall, Kell, Overal, Peploe,

In fine the antagonist and the avowed despiser of the holy fathers, doctor Middleton, is disconsolate at finding so many admirers and disciples of them among the divines of the Church of England. 'But though this doctrine of the sufficiency of the Scriptures, says he, be generally professed through all the reformed Churches, yet it has happened, I know not how, in our own, that its divines have been apt on all occasions, to join the authority of the primitive Church, to that of sacred writ, to supply doctrines from the ancient councils, on which the scriptures are either silent or thought defective; to add the holy fathers to the college of the apostles; and by ascribing the same gifts and powers to them both, (here the doctor is not correct) to raise the primitive traditions to an equality with apostolical precepts.'^a

From all that has been hitherto set forth in this letter, I think it clearly follows that revelation was at first taught entirely by the preaching of the apostles and dis-

Patrick, and Forbes; the honourable M. Campbell, and sir Edw. Dering: doctors Field, Hammond, Sherlock, Leslie, Cave, Chillingworth, Grabe, Bisse, Reeve, Knight, Hickes, Laurence, Wall, Brett; and Messrs. Bingham, Johnson, Griffith and Daillé.

The passages from these authors will be found cited in the interesting work of Dr. Wix, *Reflections*, &c. from page 40 to page 78, second edition London, 1752.

^a *Introductory Discourse*, p. 67, to a free inquiry into the miraculous powers, &c. by Conyers Middleton, principal librarian of the University of Cambridge, Edit. in 4to. London, 1752.

But what are we to say of this Dr. Middleton, who after having opened all the monuments of tradition, after having cast an inquisitive and penetrating eye into the writings of the holy fathers, feels himself all at once seized with a religious horror and shudders within himself? And what is it he has seen? Catholicism, good God! Catholicism in full perfection: He says it, he proves it: and instead of concluding that they had done wrong at the reformation, when they rose up against venerable dogmas and practices; instead of preferring the fathers nearest to the apostles, and their most faithful and holy imitators, before his religious and turbulent ancestors of the sixteenth century; this mad and whimsical genius immediately changes his colours, throws aside all tradition and banishes the fathers far from him; he will have no more to do with them, because he cannot surrender himself up to the primitive Church without renouncing his dear and glorious reformation.

ciples : that in the course of their ministry it was at different intervals and partially published in the inspired writings ; and that thus it has been transmitted to the world in two manners, by word and by writing, that is

It had entered his head, and nothing in the world could make him put it out again ; it had then forcibly entered his head, that the mass, its altars, its sacrifice, praying for the dead, and of course purgatory, the sign of the cross, the holy oils, the invocation of saints, and the honour paid to relics were superstitions and idolatrous dogmas and usages. He discovers them, however, from the time of the primitive ages ; he frankly acknowledges it. Well then ! these primitive and apostolic times shall no longer be considered by him but as idolatrous and superstitious ages ; and according to him nothing less shall be required than all the lights and all the virtues of a Luther and a Calvin, to effect at length the disengagement of Christianity from its ancient rust, and from the stains of its origin. Does not this savour of madness and blasphemy ? Who would not be alarmed at the excesses to which even the best instructed might be driven, when once left to themselves and their prejudices ?

I beg you will give yourself the satisfaction for a moment of comparing Dr. Middleton with bishop Croft. This latter, far from admiring the great lights so much boasted of in modern times on subjects of Theology, is of opinion that the doctrine being more immediate at its source, it must be purer and more certain ; the former, on the contrary, persuades himself, that scarcely had religion been promulgated when it became generally corrupted, to such a degree as to be unable to recover its original beauty until sixteen centuries after its divine founder. The one, seized with respect and love for the great models of virtue and knowledge presented to him in such abundance by the primitive Church, falls at the feet of venerable and holy antiquity ; the other, sorely offended at some miraculous facts, or at some opinions which he found up and down the writings of the fathers and which no one obliged him to adopt, is not ashamed to sully their reputation with the imputation of wilful imposition and want of talent ; he protests nevertheless that he recognizes them as valid witnesses, and yet in point of fact persists in denying the authority of their testimony. The bishop piously declares that he shall always lend them a respectful ear, and yet never does so : he remains deaf to their instructions, and in his vale of darkness he discovers not, in their writings, either the mass or sacrifice, or praying for the dead, or veneration for relics and images, or the invocation of saints, &c. The doctor, to make amends, although more deeply confined in the same dark vale, has seen, heard, and understood every

to say, by tradition and by scripture, the twofold original and sacred deposit of the Christian doctrine: the one, first in point of time and long by itself, gathered together at first in the hearts and the memories of the

thing, but takes good care not to believe any thing, or to bow to authority upon these articles.

Here certainly are two persons in whom learning abounds; and yet they agree none the better on that account. The truth is, that learning even misleads, if not engrafted upon fixed and invariable principles. Never will you find an example similar to this amongst us, whilst you will behold a thousand of the kind among your teachers. And ought not this at length to convince the prudent and moderate members of the reformed religion, that by leaving to each one the right of judging for himself, there will be as great a diversity in opinions as in tastes, (a) and that the wholesome restraint of authority is alone able to subdue the indocility, and the proud and capricious impetuosity of the human mind. *State præsumptum indomito animo et impotenti nature.*

But if we are to believe all these fathers, said Middleton, we are at once necessarily drawn into popery. Give to the doctrine of the fathers whatever name you please: call it popery, if it suit you. Is it not better, is it not safer to be a papist with the Austins, Jeromes, Ambroses, Hilarys, Chrysostoms, Basils, Cyrils, Athanasiuses, Cyprians, Justins, Tertullians, Ignatiuses, and Clements, with those apostolic men, those unexceptionable witnesses, who have astounded the world by their virtues, and by an heroic end, and who still edify us by their writings, than to continue in protestantism in the train of Luther, Calvin, Zuinglius, Beza, Knox, and Buchanan, or, if you please, of bishops Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, Hodgskin, Kitchen, &c. who have rendered their names famous, some by their audacity in violating the vow of their first engagements, others by their servile flexibility to the will of the existing powers, some by seditions, wars, and rivers of blood, all by a revolt against their mother Church, and not one of whom, to my knowledge, has yet been remarked for an humble and tender piety, for the mortification of his senses, the abnegation of himself, or the austerity of his manners or for an angelical and spiritual life. In truth, is it lawful, or is it reasonable to balance between the two? And have I not myself to blush here to see myself constrained to tarnish the memory of these illustrious saints by so unworthy a comparison?

(a) Doctor Middleton acknowledges this in express terms: 'It is every man's right to judge for himself, and a difference of opinion is as natural to us as a difference of taste.' Page 38, 16.

faithful, then deposited by little and little, and in detached pieces in the writings of the fathers, and the acts or the councils ; the other, of latter and gradual appearance, but fixed legibly upon paper by the apostles or their disciples, a durable and divine monument, which will speak for ever to the eyes, as well as to the minds and hearts of all the faithful : the former, requiring a longer and more laborious research and being more difficult of discovery, because it is scattered and spread through a greater number of monuments, and is often found mixed up with many subjects, which though not absolutely foreign to revelation, are nevertheless not it : the latter, full of an inspired and heavenly doctrine, but which is sometimes inaccessible in its sublimities, and like every written law, never being able, without an interpreter and judge, to make itself understood and followed with uniformity. The Scripture more copious without comparison, more rich, more precious, more excellent, and nevertheless leaving some articles to be desired ; tradition destined above all to transmit to us these same articles, by supplying what is wanting in the sacred books. Whence it follows again, that if it were permitted or expedient to make choice between these two deposits, and to accept one without the other, the preference would undoubtedly be due to that of the scriptures : but that according to sound reason and the doctrine of wise antiquity, according to the command of St. Paul, they are absolutely inseparable ; that, one presenting us with articles not to be found in the other, we must bring together and consult them both, to form a whole and know the complete system of revelation : that, as for the rest, coming to us, as on two parallel lines, they can never impede or oppose one another in their progress, but that on the contrary they render each other a mutual assistance, and reciprocally throw light upon each other ; in fine that we owe equally to what either of them contains, both our respect and our submission, because the same spirit which directed the pen of the apostles, directed also their tongue, and the words that came from their mouth are not less divine than those that they afterwards traced out with their hand.

LETTER V.

On the Doctrines Taught by the Church.

ON reading the preceding letter, I anticipate there may probably have arisen a difficulty in your mind. How can we be certain, will you have said, that such or such a doctrine is truly of apostolic tradition, that such an article, sufficient traces of which I do not find in Scripture, has been actually taught by the apostles and faithfully transmitted from them to us? This point, I flatter myself, shall soon be cleared up for you, if you will have the patience to examine what I have to lay before you, and if I succeed in expressing to you with perspicuity those ideas which I shall now attempt to develope.

If each of us was obliged to distinguish, among many articles, those which come from tradition, and those which do not, he would find himself, in a general way, condemned to a labour above his strength. In fact, that part of the preaching of the apostles which they did not commit to writing, was at first confided solely to the memory of the faithful, fixed in particular Churches by the oral and successive instructions of the first bishops and afterwards collected partially and as occasion fell out, in the writings of the fathers, and in the acts of the synods and councils. Whence it follows, that to prove that such an article is truly of apostolic tradition, we must consult the belief of the particular Churches, examine carefully the acts of the councils and the voluminous writings of the fathers of the Greek and Latin Churches. Who does not see that this labour requires a space of time and extent of erudition, that renders it in general impracticable? There are, indeed, to be found men of an extraordinary capacity and application, whose taste and inclination lead them to this kind of research: with the aid of the rules of criticism, all founded upon good sense, they balance and weigh authorities, they distinguish between what the fathers taught, as individual

teachers, and what they depose as testifiers to the belief and practice of their time, and they attach with discrimination the different degrees of credibility that are due, whether to their doctrine or their deposition. The world is well aware that such a labour is calculated but for a small number : and again, after all, how successful soever it may be, it scarcely ever leads to incontestible conclusions. We therefore are in want of some other means that may enable us altogether with certainty to arrive at the apostolic and divine traditions. The question is, what is this means ?

Call to mind, Sir, what we have said upon the holy scripture : we have clearly discovered that, seeing the ignorance and incapacity of some, and the pride and infatuation of others, the authority of an interpreter, of an infallible judge, was absolutely necessary to make known, and cause to be uniformly adopted the dogmas contained in scripture. We must say as much, and with still better right, for tradition. The same judge, the same interpreter that unfolds to us the sense of the divine books, manifests to us also that of tradition. Now this judge, this interpreter, I must tell you here again, is the teaching body of the Church, the bishops united in the same opinion, at least in a great majority. It is to them that, in the person of the apostles, were made the magnificent promises : ‘ Go, teach, I am with you ; he that heareth you heareth me. The Spirit of truth shall teach you all truth, &c.’ They alone then have the right to teach what is revealed, to declare what is in the written or unwritten word : they alone also have always been in possession of the exercise of it. No other ecclesiastics have ever pretended to it, whatever have been their rank, their dignity, and learning. They may be consulted and heard ; it is even proper this should be done, and it always has been done ; for they form the council of the bishops, and their erudition acquired by long study throws light upon the discussions. But as they have not the plenitude of the priesthood, they are **not** members of the eminent body that has succeeded the college of the apostles, and with it received the promises. They are then without

power and authority to pronounce : their duty is respectfully to await the decision, and when once it is passed, to submit to it. Before the decision, they were at liberty and permitted to discuss the question on the opposite side, to support their opinion with the weight of their erudition, the strength and warmth of their eloquence : after superiors have pronounced, all disputations are forbidden, discussion is closed : mixed from henceforth with the simple and little ones, the most learned doctors lay down their private opinions, humbly confess that they were in error, and receive the decision of the bishops as decrees emanating from heaven. Such is the regulation of Jesus Christ, who suffers not in his Church either pride, or bloated conceit, or obstinacy, whether in the rich, the great or the learned ones of the world. Immediately he has spoken by his ministers, he wills that all heads, those even by means of which he has made himself heard ; he wills, I say, that all heads should with equal humility and lowliness bow before his oracles.

Let it then be established as a principle, that to the bishops exclusively belongs the right of declaring what has or has not been revealed, that is, what is conformable or contrary to scripture and tradition, or simply to one of the two. This is precisely the extent of their authority : never does it go farther. They can add nothing to revelation : they can take nothing from it : they are its interpreters and judges, but not its masters. In teaching us what we have to believe, they point out to us what has always been believed : they merely render the belief more explicit and clear, there, where before it was more vague and indistinct. It is therefore always the ancient faith that they propose to us, and never a new faith that they introduce : for revelation is not a new faith which we are permitted to revise and retract : it came forth in full perfection from Jesus Christ ; and his disciples, inspired by him, have faithfully transmitted it whether by word of mouth or by writing, to their successors, enjoining them at the same time to transmit it with the same fidelity to those who should succeed them.

Thus the bishops, on succeeding to the apostolic mi-

nistry, find themselves specially commissioned to guard the Scriptures and tradition. They had already spent their clerical years and those of their priesthood in becoming acquainted with them, studying them and meditating upon them. Being by their episcopacy become the guardians and interpreters of this double deposit of revelation, they have it more assiduously in their hands and under their eyes. Does any new doctrine arise that must soon require on their part a dogmatical decision, they prepare themselves for it by redoubling their application, by consulting each deposit alternately, by comparing them together, by making deeper researches into them with all the care, which, humanly speaking, they are capable of: and, assuredly, when they shall come to the decision, *He, who is always with them*, and who is to *instruct them in all truth*, will never permit them all to agree in giving an erroneous sense to the written word, or the word that is not written. Their common decision will necessarily and uniformly be conformed to them, whether they infer't from both at once, or only from one of them. You and I might not have perceived it in either one or the other of these sources, but eyes interiorly enlightened by a celestial ray discover with certainty that which escapes a merely human penetration. We can therefore no longer admit a doubt respecting any dogma, that the teaching body of the Church has pronounced to have been revealed by Jesus Christ, that is, to be contained in Scripture, or in tradition, or in both at the same time. Learned and ignorant, the decision is for all: not that it is forbidden to those who feel so disposed, to seek for the truth of the dogma, either in Scripture or in the monuments of tradition: far from that, this study would merit praise and commendation, being previously directed and put in the way by the judgment of the Church, they will more easily trace in it her doctrines. But nothing obliges us in general to undertake this laborious and fatiguing examination; our masters, our fathers in faith have done it for us. They have afterwards decided that such a dogma is in scripture, that such another comes from an apostolic tradition: they are of one accord in teaching it: we know it: it is a fact, it is known by the most simple: this is sufficient

for all. All are equally bound to receive with the most unshaken confidence a decision which in itself is the most impartial and the most imposing that can be found upon earth, and which moreover, heaven has engaged to raise to infallibility.^a

As this doctrine has been hitherto quite a stranger to you, and as it properly constitutes the distinctive characteristic between the Catholic Church and all protestant societies, allow me to lay it open to you in a new light, in order to make you more sensible of it. In the first place, always keep in mind that, according to all our proofs, the promise of infallibility made in the apostles to their successors, does not regard any of these personally and in particular, because Jesus Christ does not remain for ever with any one, none of them being immortal; but that it is addressed to all their successors collectively and in a body. Likewise it follows that, if separately and individually they are susceptible of error, they cannot, by virtue of the promise, be so, when united together; that whatever deference their personal opinions require from us, we nevertheless do not owe the sacrifice of our opinion or our interior submission except to their unanimous decision; that truth being always to be found in the general agreement, it is this agreement we are bound to know and follow, since by following it we cannot go astray, and by not following it, on the contrary, we do go astray, for then we go out of the way and the line that Jesus Christ has drawn for us, and we leave the guides whom he has expressly appointed to conduct us. Let us therefore be cautious how we ever close our ears to their voices, or ever depart from their uniform instructions. In whatever circumstances their consent is manifested, when once it is known, when once it becomes manifest to us, it is sufficient: our duty is to submit, and our salvation to remain firmly attached to it.

And here I beg you to observe that a dogmatical decision may be given in many ways, but that it only

^a "Nothing should be more venerable upon earth than the "decision of a truly œcumenical council."—Leibnitz, letter to the Dutchess of Brunswick. July 2nd, 1694.

becomes decisive and peremptory in one way, that is, by the general consent, or the acceptance of the episcopal body united to its head. I will explain myself on the two parts of this proposition.

The bishops, the successors of the apostles, like them the guardians of the faith, by the high dignity with which they are invested in the Church, possess exclusively the right of interpreting scripture and tradition, and of pronouncing after the one or the other upon points of faith.* A pernicious doctrine threatens to trouble or infect a diocese: the bishop has the power and the right to assemble his clergy, and, after having maturely deliberated with them, to pronounce a doctrinal sentence, when he becomes of opinion that this is a suitable and efficient means of stilling the error in its infancy. Arius began to spread the venom of his doctrine in Alexandria, and had already gained partisans by the subtilty of his reasoning. The holy patriarch, wishing to reclaim him by sweetness rather than compel him by authority, selected some priests from the two parties, who defended their arguments on both sides in a regular disputation, while he, surrounded with the principal of his clergy, presided as judge in this conference, to decide the difference by a solemn decision..... He terminated the dispute by pronouncing sentence in favour of those who had supported the divinity and eternity of the Son of God, and forbad Arius to teach or to hold an opinion that destroyed the foundations of the Christian religion.”^b

With how much more reason does this same right pre-eminently belong to him, who presides over the entire episcopacy, and who, from the centre of unity where he holds his see, extends his superintendance and jurisdiction over all the Churches of the world? Accordingly we find, even from the most remote periods, that the greater part of dogmatical decisions have originated from

* “Episcopum oportet judicare, interpretari, consecrare.” *Pontif. Rom.* in fol. p. 50.—The bishop is the only ordinary and natural judge of whatever regards religion, and it is for him to decide upon questions of faith and morality, by interpreting the sacred scripture and by faithfully relating the tradition of the fathers. Fleury, *Institute, au droit eccl.* t. 1. ch. XII

^b Maimbourg, *Hist. de l'Arian*, t. 1. p. 17 and 1.

this principal see, from which beams the ray of government, according to an expression as correct as it is brilliant. ^a If you consider on the one hand the ever active vigilance exercised by the vicar of Jesus Christ over all the Churches ; on the other, those intimations which, in great causes, every bishop thinks himself bound to forward to him, you will easily conceive that nothing essential in religion could escape his knowledge, nothing of importance occur at the most distant extremities, without being immediately echoed to the centre, and then, without giving time to the error to increase, without waiting for the bishops to assemble in council, the chief pastor goes before the evil, drags to light the rising heresy, solemnly condemns it, and against it, produces to the eyes of the world, the ever pure and indefectible tradition of the holy see.

We learn also from the history of the Church that the bishops of a province or an empire, frequently united together in private councils, and that there, to ward off the blows aimed against faith, they have proscribed erroneous opinions, and taught the true doctrine of revelation in their dogmatical decrees.

Here then are doctrinal decrees given in three different manners, or coming from three different tribunals. Each of these decisions has an authority proper to itself, and proportioned to the tribunal from which it emanates : yet none of them is decisive, although it may become so by acceptance. For if the decrees of a private council, or of the sovereign pontiff, or even that of a private bishop is found to be received and generally approved of by the bishops dispersed throughout catholicity, and by the pope at the head of all, they then become the decrees of the universal Church ; their being generally received attaches to them the seal of infallibility and ranks them thenceforward among the articles of faith.

There occur, in fine, less frequent but graver and more solemn occasions, on which the Church explains and proclaims its doctrine in the most imposing and most splendid manner. For example, a pernicious doctrine, after having infested the country where it sprung up, reaches

^a Sermon sur l'unité.

the neighbouring nations, is propagating through more distant countries, and threatens to extend its ravages still further: a general plague requires a co-extensive remedy: from all parts of the world, at the request or with the consent of the sovereigns, the bishops are convoked by the head of the Church: they anathematize the innovators and their opinions, both to fix in the faith those who have hitherto professed it, and to bring back those who have strayed from it: they proclaim to the world what Jesus Christ has revealed. I do not enter with you into the questions that are discussed among divines on the conditions requisite to constitute these councils, called general in spite of the weak minority of the bishops who compose them compared with those who do not assist at them. What is incontestable and acknowledged is, that the acceptance of the published decrees gives to these councils the splendid proof of their being œcumenical, and thus puts out of doubt and in full evidence the infallibility of their doctrine.

I could justify the principles I have just laid down, by the testimony of a multitude of writers: of these I shall cite but one, who was the light of his own age, and will be the light of ages to come. ‘The last mark we can have that a council or assembly truly represents the Catholic Church, is when the whole body of the episcopacy, and the whole society that makes profession of receiving instruction from it, approves and receives it: this is the last seal to the authority of this council, and of the infallibility of its decrees.’^a ‘The council of Orange of which mention is made in the Reply, was nothing less than general. It contained chapters whom the pope had sent. There hardly were twelve or thirteen bishops in this council. But because it was received without opposition, its decisions are no more rejected than those of the council of Nice; *because every thing depends upon the consent, or general agreement of the dispersed Church.* Even the author of the Reply (Leibnitz or Molanus) admits this truth, that every thing depends on the certainty of the consent. The number is nothing, says he, when the agreement is notorious.

^a Bossuet’s reply to various letters of M. Leibnitz. Letter XXII. p. 115. vol. XI. edit. in 4to. 1778.

‘There were but few bishops of the west in the council of Nice ; none in that of Constantinople ; in those of Ephesus and Chalcedon, only the pope’s legates ; and so of others. But *because all the world agreed, or have since agreed*, these decrees are the decrees of the world. If we choose to go still higher. Paul of Samosata was only condemned by a private council, held at Antioch ; but because its decree was addressed to all the bishops of the world, and was received by them (for it is in this that all its virtue consists and without this the address would avail nothing), this decree is unchangeable.’^a

‘I thoroughly understand your theory, you reply, and perhaps it would be more easy for you to persuade me of it, than to get it adopted by a great number of your

^b Ibid. p. 120, 121.

And again in the *Defense au Clergé de France*, Liv. VIII. ch. III. ‘After the dissolution of the first council of Constantinople, pope Damasus assisted in person at that of Rome, held by the western bishops who rendered the council of Constance œcumenical, by *consenting to its decrees*.’ And in ch. V. of the same book, I find nearly the same thing in one of the circular letters written after the council of Chalcedon. These are the words : ‘Almost all the bishops of the west, with common consent, and with them the holy archbishop of Rome (Saint Leo), have confirmed with their voice and in writing, the decisions of the holy fathers assembled at Chalcedon.’ And again, ch. IX. he cites these words of Pope Gelasius : ‘An illegitimate council is neither received by all the Church, nor specially approved of by the Holy See.’ (a) Thus it is necessary that the approbation of the principal Churches should appear with more distinction, it is true than that of other Churches ; *but it is not less necessary*, that the consent of the whole Church should take place. The consent of the Holy See, or if you please, its confirmation, joined to the approbation of the universal Church, forms, therefore, the final testimony of the canonicity of a council This general testimony is not only calculated to confound malignant interpretations, but also sometimes to remove the difficulties of the best of people, who although convinced of the infallibility of the œcumenical councils, may honestly have their doubts whether such a council is œcumenical Thus we have great reason to be convinced that the consent of the universal Church, joined to the confirmation of the Holy See, forms the *final and decisive* proof of a council being œcumenical.

(a) Gelas. Epist. 18 *ad Episc. Dard.*

‘catholics. Formerly I travelled in Italy ; I questioned some doctors of that country, and heard them reason quite otherwise upon this point. They maintained that infallibility, which according to you belongs to the episcopal body, was the personal attribute of the vicar of Jesus Christ : and they were within a trifle of treating as heresy the contrary opinion of the Gallicans. Thus then you are involved in an intestine war upon a most important article. For it is not enough for you to believe that the Church has by your divine legislator been put in possession of so high a prerogative : you ought moreover to know in what part of the Church this possession resides : if it were in the general body of the bishops, as would result from your proofs, it is inconceivable that this general body does not know that this prerogative belongs to them. But you have yet to learn in what part of the Church to fix it, some placing it in the sovereign Pontiff, others in the œcumenical council, by which the universal body of bishops is represented. First agree together among yourselves, if you please, before you require protestants to come into your opinion.’

I am very well pleased, Sir, that you furnish me an opportunity of replying to this difficulty : your ministers have repeated it to us a hundred times : it is plausible, I do not deny it. I will give you satisfaction on this point, as briefly as possible. 1st, There is a point, which the catholics of all countries fall in with and which suffices to produce an acknowledgment from all parties of the supreme and infallible authority. In fact, those who place it in the chief bishop maintain also that it never can happen that the great number of bishops should separate from him. Therefore, where the majority of the bishops visibly appears there, according to both parties, is infallibility to be found : according to us who attribute it to this majority ; and according to them, who teach that the pope can never be separated from it in solemn decisions. On both sides therefore it is granted that infallibility is inseparable from the great number of pastors. 2ndly, There is another principle on which we agree with the advocates of papal infallibility. They have no difficulty in acknowledging that the majority of the bishops is infallible when united to the successor of St. Peter ; and

we have still less in acknowledging him infallible when united to the majority of the bishops. Thus on both sides the strength consists in the union of the head with the members: thus on both sides there is always infallibility where the great number of the pastors is united to him who is at their head. And in point of fact, they are certainly united among themselves: in point of fact, they must necessarily be so, they must of necessity agree upon the same doctrine, otherwise they would cease to regard themselves as forming one and the same body, one and the same Church. But if ever it should happen, which God forbid, and which we Gallicans think impossible, if it ever should happen, that the great number should separate from the head, it would then be necessary that one of the two parties should adopt the sentiments of the other, to preserve the Church from schism, the greatest of all evils.

3rdly, When we examine more narrowly this dispute, so much agitated in the schools, it appears that it should be banished among speculative and idle questions. and that in the main both parties meet in the same opinion. In fact the warmest and most skilful defenders of the pontifical prerogative teach that a sentence proceeding from the chair of Peter, *does not become a decree of faith, but by the acceptation of the Church spread through the world.* They must therefore argue upon the judgments passed *ex cathedrâ*, as we all do upon the judgments passed by general councils, the infallibility of which is recognised by every catholic; and say with us: It is by the acceptation, that we are convinced that a council is really œcumenical and it is by acceptation equally that we know with certainty that the pope has pronounced *ex cathedra*. Thus we all agree in the same principle; and both are ultimately found to attach the seal of infallibility to the universal agreement of the Church.^a

I cannot refrain from giving you in conclusion the satisfaction of reading your difficulty and the reply drawn out with a master-hand. ‘Protestants reproach us with ‘investing the Church with an infallibility, for which we

^aThis argument is from Bossuet. See *Coroll, Defens. Cler. Gallic* par. 8, et *Dissert præv.* parag. 21.

‘ can find no subject, since some place it in the pope alone, others in the general council, and others in the whole body of the Church spread throughout the world. They are unwilling to see that these sentiments, which they suppose to be contrary to each other, accord perfectly together: since those who acknowledge infallibility in the pope even alone, acknowledge it with greater reason when all the Church is agreed with him: and those, who place it in the council, place it with much more reason in the Church which the council represented. This then is the catholic doctrine, perfectly agreeing in all its parts: Infallibility resides originally in the body of the Church. Whence it follows that it resides also in the council, that represents it, and which virtually contains it; that is, in a council, which, publicly acting as œcumenical, remains in communion with the rest of the Church, and of which also the decisions are for this reason regarded, as decisions of the whole body. Thus the authority of the council is established upon the authority and the consent of the whole Church, or rather it is nothing else but this authority and this same consent.’

‘ As for the pope, who is bound to give the common sentiment of the whole Church, when it cannot assemble or when it does not judge it necessary to do so, it is very certain with us, that when he delivers, as he is bound to do, the common sentiment of the Church, and when all the Church consents to his judgment, it is in effect the judgment of all the Church, and of course an infallible judgment. Whatever is said more than this on the subject of the pope is neither of faith, nor is it necessary, because it is sufficient that the Church has a means unanimously recognised, for deciding controversies, that might produce disunion among the people.’

* *Œuvres posthumes de Bossuet*, t. I. p. 217. Edit. in 4to. The Reformers attacked the exorbitant power which, in their time, was more generally attributed to the pope, in the things both of heaven and of earth. If they had confined themselves to proving that those pretensions were novel, that they ill-accorded with the spirit of the gospel, with the doctrine of the fathers, and with that of the most holy and illustrious sovereign pontiffs, we should then have only had to praise their zeal in the support of true principles. But, far from shewing this spirit of

moderation and wisdom, they railed against the successor of St. Peter with the most disgraceful coarseness: they put forth against the Holy See insults so low and disgusting, that one would blush to transcribe them: indeed they would be revolting to creditable persons of all countries. Men of God would never have spoken as they did. But a man who is not an apostle does not adopt the tone of one—he must be an apostle to possess it. Were there no other reproach to be made against the Reformers, who would not judge, by their passionate and furious expressions, that God could never raise up for the reformation of his Church a set of brutish and furious characters, uttering the language of demons?

If we may be allowed to judge of the sentiments of the Greeks by one of their able and moderate writers, here is what Helias Meniates bishop of Zerniza said towards the close of the seventeenth century: (a) ‘I consider the dispute upon the supreme power of the pope to be the principal cause of our division: it is the wall of separation between the two Churches If it were possible to understand one another upon this single point, it would not be difficult to adjust the others, and to arrive at a perfect re-union.’ (b) Placing himself afterwards between the protestants and the ultramontanists, this learned man shews to the former that the pope, far from being antichrist, is the legitimate successor of the apostles, and that he is at the head of the hierarchy of the universal Church. Against the latter, he maintains that the pope is not an all powerful monarch in the Church, that the bishops derive not their authority from him, but from Jesus Christ: he willingly allows that he is the first among his brethren, and that he occupies in the midst of them the first place of honour: he maintains moreover, that he is neither sole judge, nor sole interpreter of revelation: that he is not above the council, nor invested with the privilege of infallibility: but that these prerogatives belong to the universal Church: that it is above the pope, with the right of judging his conduct: he maintains moreover, that Jesus Christ has not conferred upon him any power in temporal things, far from having put sceptres and crowns at the feet and the disposal of his vicar, whom he made a bishop in his Church and not an emperor of the world.

We say to our mistaken brethren of the protestant Churches: Join us in throwing a veil over the abuse with which the see of Saint Peter has been covered. Enter into the sentiments of the

(a) *The Stumbling-block*, a work translated into many languages.

(b) Melancthon on the contrary had said, that they should nearly come to an understanding on the subject of the pope, if they could agree upon the rest. The reason is because the rest is a great deal between us and the protestants, and almost nothing between the Greeks and us.

informed and moderate ones among you. You have already heard Melancthon: 'There is no dispute about the superiority of the pope and the authority of the bishops . . . the monarchy of the pope would also tend very much to preserve agreement in doctrine among many nations!' And forget not the saying of Grotius: 'Let the bishops, says he, preside over the priests, the metropolitan over the bishops, and, above all, the bishop of Rome. This order ought always to remain in the Church, because a cause for it always remains—the danger of schism.'

We say to our separated brethren, the Christians of the Greek Church: How can you prolong a schism, the most direful of all evils, and the most unpardonable of all crimes, for opinions, which you are permitted not to adopt? They seem to you inadmissible? They seem so to us also. Faith never commanded them: do not therefore take fright at them, but become united with us. The concessions already made by the learned of your body are almost sufficient for us. Without doubt they would not have refused the little that remained for them to do, after the example of their ancestors in the councils of Lyons and Florence. Let us unite: we were united for nine successive centuries; and our Churches then were both of them more holy and flourishing.

We say in fine, with all the respect that we profess for our superiors and brethren of the Ultramontanist Churches, we say to them: You, who would still be imbued with the exaggerated principles which in modern times have taken birth among you, reflect on all the evils they have brought upon the Church, and that, instead of giving to the holy see a power which it did not possess, they have deprived it of that which it really had: reflect upon the calumnies they have occasioned, upon the inquietudes that even friendly powers have often conceived from them: reflect upon the jealousies and aversions they have fostered in protestant states, on the pretexts they still furnish to the Greek Churches to continue and justify their schism. Do not motives so manifold and powerful imperatively command the sacrifice, or at least the silence of some arbitrary maxims? Maintain with us the authority of the head of the Church. Let us maintain it all entire. To retrench from it would be to wound faith; but let us not forget that *in its plenitude even the ocean itself has its bounds.*

Will you say that, regarding the question as not yet decided, it is lawful for you, as in every undecided question, to support the opinion that you prefer? The principle is assuredly very catholic: I object only to its application, which I would find in this case to be blind and even reprehensible. Whenever from any opinion there result consequences fatal to the Church and to the salvation of souls, charity and justice require it to

be sacrificed. It is certain that by pressing the ultramontane principles, an eternal obstacle would be put to the return of the separated communions. I would not at the same time ensure the reconciliation of the Greeks with us, if we were all to come to an understanding with them on the authority of the pope. They say so, even those among them most capable of leading the people. To believe them, your assertions alone keep them still separate. And is this not enough to make it a duty for you to renounce them or be silent on them? For, I ask you, if the first and most unpardonable of crimes be to take off the people from unity, is it not the first of our duties to bring them back to it, to say nothing at least that may frighten them from it without necessity? Do not therefore, I conjure you, render their return to union more difficult but endeavour rather to clear the way. You will at least have put the Greeks to the trial: and we shall ascertain, in an affair of the first importance, whether their acknowledgments were sincere, or not.

But if your opinions seem to you too closely connected with faith to be abandoned, pray keep them to yourselves, until the Church shall have pronounced them to be articles of faith.

"As for the things that are known to be disputed about in the schools, although the *Greeks* and protestants are perpetually bringing them forward to render the *primacy* odious, it is not necessary to speak of them, because they are not of catholic faith. It suffices to acknowledge a head established by God to conduct all the flock in its ways: and this will always cheerfully be done by those who love concord among brethren and ecclesiastical unanimity." *Esprit de la doct. cathol. sect. 21.*

LETTER VI.

On the Eucharist.

WE have seen that revelation, confided immediately to the apostles, had been transmitted by them by word of mouth and writing: that by them, the twofold deposit of scripture and tradition had been committed to their disciples, to pass from hand to hand, and from age to age to their successors, whose office it would be to seek in them exclusively, and no where else, the articles of the christian doctrine, and whose privilege, to deduce them from these sources, without ever being in danger collectively of going astray. We have seen that the duty and obligation of the faithful were to submit to the uniform instructions they should receive from them; and that the belief of the catholic whether learned or ignorant rested with equal solidity upon the doctrine of the episcopal body united to its head. We have seen in fine, that this infallible teaching was, above all, manifested to us in the solemn decrees universally received by the bishops of catholicity. Whence it follows, that we admit without hesitation as articles of faith, whatever the Church teaches us, and proposes to us as such and as revealed.

Thus we believe and we confess, as of faith, the divinity of Jesus Christ, defined against Arius in the great council of Nice;^a the divinity of the Holy Ghost taught against Macedonius by the oecumenical council of Constantinople.^b We believe of faith that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son, from the decision successively given against the Greeks in the general councils of Lateran, of Lyons and Florence.^c We believe of faith the unity of person in Jesus Christ, with the general council of Ephesus^d held against Nestorius, and with the same council we proclaim the Virgin Mary *mother of God*. From the council of Chalcedon^e against

An. 325.—^b An. 381.—^c An. 1215, 1274, 1459.—^d An. 431.
^e An. 451.

Eutyches, we believe, as of faith, the two natures, human and divine, united and not confounded in the person of our Saviour. Original sin, denied in the fifth age, by Pelagius, we believe to be of faith from the doctrine of several councils of the same age, from the constitution of Pope Zozimus, universally received by all the bishops, with the exception of eighteen, who were deposed for it; from the first and fourth canons of the general council of Ephesus, and since then from the decrees of the council of Trent. Guided by these high authorities, we believe, as of faith, the necessity of baptism to efface in us that mysterious stain, and open heaven to the unfortunate race of the guilty Adam.

So far, Sir, you are agreed with us upon these different points of doctrine. Your reformers have respected them; they have found them too strongly imprinted on their own conscience, too deeply rooted in the minds of the people, to think of ever striking a blow at them. Nevertheless they have said enough to give to others more audacity, and soon after to instruct the Socinians that they might boldly proceed still further and attack those fundamental truths of christianity. The right of judging having been once granted to each one, there is no longer any thing sacred, any thing firm, any thing that can stand its ground.

Thank heaven! they have not advanced so far in your Church. They have continued to believe and teach the dogmas I have mentioned, and some others connected with them. Observe nevertheless upon what different principles they are believed in your communion and in ours. The principle of the Church of England is, to admit as revealed and as necessary for salvation, only the dogmas which are read in Scripture, or may be duly inferred from it. And here, Sir, speak to me, I beseech you, with candour; have you learned these dogmas, which you believe to be essential, in Scripture? Have you examined and thoroughly searched the sacred text? have you compared the passages together? Not, assuredly, that I doubt, that with the penetration and justness of mind that I know you to possess, you would not of yourself have discovered the truth of these dogmas in the passages of Scripture, where they are established.

But as for this examination, this search, I know you have never entered upon it. The nature of the business, with which you have been occupied, has given you neither time nor liberty, nor even the inclination to throw yourself into theological researches. You believe simply from the instructions you have received from your parents, from your masters, who in the same manner had received them from theirs. and so on, up to the period of the Reformation. Your belief and the belief of your countrymen in general, has not then, if thoroughly analysed, any other support than the authority of your reformers, who never pretended that they were infallible, and have most strenuously maintained they were not so. See where you are, and how much your faith, your salvation are found to be left at hazard, upon mere human authority, and consequently wavering, perishable and faulty. But the Catholic, full of the promise, convinced that Jesus Christ, who has spoken by his apostles, will always speak by their successors, certain that he cannot go astray in the steps of guides whom he is ordered to follow, feels himself firm in faith and in the way of salvation. He knows that both are built upon the Church, as on an immovable rock, against the foot of which the efforts of hell shall eternally be broken in pieces.

Instructed by the same authority, the Catholic admits in the number of the articles of faith and of the revealed mysteries, that of the most august of sacraments, the Eucharist : under each of the kinds of bread and wine, the substance of which no longer exist, he adores Jesus Christ veiled, but yet present whole and entire. He knows, or may easily know, that at the period when for the first time this belief was attacked in the eleventh age by Berengarius, a cry of indignation was raised on all sides against him : that the ancient faith was maintained by the teachers of christianity, among others by Lanfranc, the learned archbishop of Canterbury, and unanimously defined by many councils, as it has been since defined in the council of Trent. Here unfortunately the lists were entered between the Protestant societies and the Catholic Church, and we are about to find our-

selves at variance ; it having seemed good to your ancestors, after having agreed with us upon all other mysteries, to leave us and attack us upon this. Your convocation of 1562, had not the same reason for sparing it, which had made the former convocations respect it. From the reign of Edward the sixth, the opinions of Zuinglius had been held in esteem ; they had made a melancholy progress in your country, and even your new bishops had not been able to preserve themselves from them : in their twenty-eighth article they condemn transubstantiation. reject at the same time the worship and adoration of Jesus Christ in his sacrament, as being contrary to the text of the scriptures and the institution of the Eucharist.

As to the real presence, which should be looked upon as the great article, the principal point of the mystery, they shewed themselves more reserved : they say not openly that it must be admitted or rejected : they adopt a form of expression that seems to accommodate itself to one or other of these opinions. It is plain that they were equally apprehensive of alarming those who yet held in great numbers to the real presence, and those who wished to get rid of it. M. Burnet with more than his usual candour and with his accustomed correctness of mind admires this dexterous scrupulousness of the convocation. He takes pleasure in remarking that the article was couched in such a manner as to serve each ones purpose, and that all might more easily be attracted and might thus increase the rising Church. That an insidious and weak government should adopt this mode of proceeding is quite in character : this artful method may serve the views and interests of the moment, but is it agreeable with an eternal and divine religion ? Is it not unworthy of the episcopal character ? Faith knows no such temporizing measures, such vagueness and indecision : its course is upright ; its language simple, precise, and decided. It enters into no compacts with error, because it can have no alliance with it. In truth, these political expedients of your spiritual lords sufficiently disclosed their secret thoughts, and a man must have been very simple indeed to let himself be deceived by such pitiful artifices : for, in fine, if all or the greater

part had believed the real presence, they would have thought it a point of duty and honour to have loudly professed it, and to have warned their flocks against the heresy, by condemning with a sacerdotal vigour the opinions of Zuinglius. They did not then for the most part believe it, their silence shews they did not. Why then did they not immediately proceed openly to condemn it? What mean this embarrassment, these snares, these concerted concealments? You discover here, Sir, the inevitable march of error. At all times it has shewn itself timid and hesitating at the commencement, and its first steps have always been faltering and uncertain,

I should but use my right, were I to refuse all further discussion, and refer you, upon the Eucharist as upon all other articles of faith, to the decisions pronounced by the Church. I have established its authority: I have shewn that it received it from its divine Founder; that when he was leaving the earth he bequeathed it to his apostles, and, in their persons, to those who should succeed them in the ministry: that he had never ceased to teach by their instrumentality and would continue to the end of the world to teach by that of their successors: that, in consequence, the doctrines of the Church will always be protected from error; that, by hearing the Church, we hear Jesus Christ; and by despising the Church we despise Jesus Christ. You have seen the proofs of all this: they have appeared to you convincing. And if the impression they have made upon you is weakened, read them over again: subject them, if you please, to a new examination. But when once a person is convinced of their solidity, there is no longer room for hesitation. The decision is past, every thing is said: all that remains is to accept it and submit to it. This simple, and at the same time safe method abridges for every catholic, whether learned or ignorant, the interminable difficulties that exist in protestant societies.

But the arguments you have often heard opposed to the belief of catholics upon this mystery, those that you have read in the writings of your teachers have made a deep impression upon you. They frequently return to your mind, and balance, as you say, the force of the general inference drawn from an infallible authority.

Well! then, Sir, I am willing to enter with you into the heart of this controverted point: I engage to justify to you the decrees of the Church upon the Eucharist, and to shew you their conformity with the doctrine of Jesus Christ. I foresee its full extent: I have it at one glance with all its proofs before my eyes. Oh that I could but lay it before your eyes with the same rapidity! but the dissertation must necessarily be long: you must submit to it: it is necessary for your peace of mind: the subject is all important. I should also be apprehensive that my silence might appear to you a tacit acknowledgment of the weakness of my cause: and I ought not to give your teachers this kind of advantage in your mind.

Before we set about developing the proofs, it will be well to remove certain general difficulties, which might diminish their effect. These difficulties are produced, in some, by the false notions conjured up by a heated imagination; in others by specious reasons, which seem to demonstrate the physical impossibility of the real presence. The first are indignant at the very idea of the consequences which they imagine themselves obliged to admit. If Jesus Christ were really present in the Eucharist, he would then, say they, be abandoned to the mercy of the wicked: he would have put himself into the power of his creatures, by giving them the power of offering to his adorable body the most shameful indignities; of casting him to animals, of dragging him in the mud, and treading him under foot. But, in the first place, these persons do not reflect that similar objections might be made against the presence of God which they admit in the universe. They will reply, no doubt, that God is not present in all places in substance, as we say the Eucharist is but only by his infinite knowledge and by the action of an unlimited power. Were the observation correct, the objections would not the less forcibly recur: for does it not seem unworthy of his supreme majesty that his pure and immortal eye should be open to every scene of horror and debauchery? What representations, what work full of folly and turpitude, what disgusting and infamous images find place in the divine conceptions, and become reflected upon the incarnated Word? Far from

us however be such illusions ! God sees all crimes, and his eye is not defiled : he knows them, and the purity of his essence remains uninjured.* And let us equally be on our guard how we believe that the profanations exercised upon a consecrated host can touch and affect the person of Jesus Christ. The only right he has granted his ministers over it, is to be able, at their will, to render it present upon the altar, and that in a manner which it is not given them to comprehend. The wicked may indeed, profane the veils under which he conceals himself, may prostitute them to unclean animals ; may throw them into the mud or under their feet : for he abandons to their mad outrages the cover he places between himself and them, of itself contemptible and common, it is true, and yet most deserving our respect and our veneration from the presence of the sacred guest, whom it holds concealed from our eyes. Here their profanations stop : they reach not his adorable body, on which he gives them no hold : inaccessible to all their senses, he is also screened from all their attempts : and not less impalpable than invisible, in the midst of the most shameful outrages, his divine person remains eternally impassible and inviolable.

* Saint Peter Chrysologus, archbishop of Ravenna, (a) speaking of the woman who came secretly behind our Saviour, and touched the hem of his garment, as if to gain from him by stealth the cure of the flux of blood under which she had laboured for twelve years makes the following reflection : ' She knew that the Divinity could neither be tarnished by the touch, nor offended at the sight, nor injured by the hearing, nor stained by the thoughts of man. For if the sun by its rays comes in contact with dirt and filth without being defiled, with how much more reason can the Creator of the sun come in contact with any thing whatsoever, without contracting the least stain or defilement.' (b)

Origen had said before him : ' Celsus imagines that the divine nature is defiled or that it is mixed up with defilement whether in remaining in the womb of a woman until its body was formed there, or in assuming this same body. It is like those who believe that the rays of the sun are sullied by passing over sloughs or bad smells, and that they do not preserve all their purity.'—*Against Celsus*. Book IV. n. 326.

Others borrow their arguments from still more abstracted metaphysical sources, and with an air of triumph display to us their pretended demonstrations of the impossibility of one body existing in many places at the same time. Their triumph, without dispute, would be certain, did the question turn upon a body existing in the Eucharist under the same forms and with the natural qualities and proportions of a human body: for certainly it will never enter any one's mind to believe or propose to be believed that a body such as yours or mine can be simultaneously in many places. But we are speaking of a body passed to a state entirely different from our own, become impalpable, invisible, inaccessible to all our senses: we are speaking of a presence, the manner of which we pretend not to explain, which we acknowledge to be above our understanding. In what manner would they shew the impossibility of such a presence being simultaneously multiplied, and of the existence of such a body in many places at once? Would they maintain it to be more impossible than impalpability and invisibility? If they allow that our Lord could derogate from the ordinary laws of matter, to such a degree as to conceal his body from all our senses, can he not still further derogate from them so as to render it present in many places at once? Have we a sufficient knowledge of the properties of matter to deny this? Have we sufficiently penetrated into its essence? For, to affirm the impossibility of any thing whatsoever is to assert that the qualities that are attributed to it are repugnant to, or mutually exclude one another. This cannot be proved, if we do not know them: the first step then is to know them: and up to this time the primitive elements, the intimate qualities of matter, the modifications of which it is susceptible under the hand of the Almighty, are mysteries to man. Whatever progress may have been made in the analysis of bodies, their formation and organization always elude our inquiries; in this respect as in every thing else, the secret of the Creator has not yet been discovered. I am sorry, I confess, for those transcendent geniuses, who, to justify their incredulity and overturn our belief, transport us with them into unknown regions, and would have us adopt as luminous demonstrations the arguments they produce

for us out of sight in the void and the night of chaos. What is remarkable, is, that they make no difficulty in admitting other mysteries, not less incomprehensible than this. You believe with us, I would say to them, the Trinity and Incarnation, and have not these dogmas their inaccessible heights? Does not the Socinian imagine that he discovers in them impossibilities and absurdities? You reply to him that his objections prove only the limits of the human mind and in no wise the impossibility of these dogmas: it is just so that I answer you respecting the Eucharist. Does not the birth of Jesus Christ appear repugnant to our ideas of things? that he should have taken a body and come into the world from the womb of a virgin, what is there in appearance more impossible than this, according to all that we observe of the laws of nature and the properties of the human body? that after his resurrection his disciples being assembled *and keeping the doors shut for fear of the Jews,*^a he should have twice appeared in the midst of them, how are we to explain this prodigy and make it accord with the notions we have formed of matter? And after his ascension, that he should have appeared to Saint Paul in the same manner as he shewed himself after his passion to Saint Peter, to his disciples and to more than five hundred brethren together: do you more easily conceive this? For we have manifestly here the presence of Jesus Christ in two places at once, in heaven at the right hand of his Father, and on earth before Saint Paul, to whom he shewed himself as he was before. To convince his apostles of his resurrection he had caused to be seen by their eyes, in his

^a St. John ch. XX. v. 19.

^b One of your teachers somewhere relates, that the disciples being assembled and closely shut up, Jesus Christ *flings the door wide open* (that is his expression if my memory serves me faithfully, it certainly is the sense of it), and advances to the middle of the room. Such is the way this rare genius turns and changes, as he pleases, the narrative of the gospel to accommodate to fancy! This is again the same Dr. Jortin whom I have cited before.

^c *Januâ clausâ Dominus ingressus est, inter alia ejus numerabit, quicumque sanæ mentis est.* Cyril. Alex. sæculo V.

^d I. Corinth. ch. XV.

complete humanity, the same members, the same features that they had known him to possess before his death.^a What will you say again of the dogma of the general resurrection, the belief in which is common to us both? Can your imagination comprehend this mystery? Do you readily conceive the state in which our bodies will then be changed? Are you able to conceive that they can without ceasing to be the same divest themselves of all their sensual and terrestrial qualities, and put on those that are spiritualized and angelical? for, there, there is neither eating nor drinking; there, they shall not marry or be married, says our Saviour, but shall be like angels.^b And according to the sublime theology of Saint Paul, the body 'is sown in corruption, it shall rise in incorruption: it is sown in dishonour, it shall rise in glory: it is sown in weakness, it shall rise in power: it is sown a natural body, it shall rise a spiritual body: if there be a natural body, there is also a spiritual body.'^c After these incontestible truths, admitted and yet unintelligible, what mean the difficulties you object to us? To what purpose do you create imaginary impossibilities upon a state of things that far surpass our comprehension? If God, as you doubt not, destines our sensual and gross bodies for a state of spirituality which we do not understand, why should not our Lord be able to put his body in another spiritual state still more incomprehensible? You reason upon matter such as we see it, and upon bodies such as they strike our senses: but here we are treating of a matter that is imperceptible, of a body that eludes all our senses. You speak to us of an animal body, whereas you should speak of a spiritual body. But you will reply, what do you mean by a spiritual body; and how are we to join these two ideas together? In truth, Sir, I am sure that they are joined; for we are taught so by Saint Paul: but how and in what manner, I know not, any

^aMatth. ch. XXII. v. 30.—^bI. Corinth. ch. XV. v. 42.

^c'Nemo ascendit in cælum, nisi qui descendit de cælo, Filius hominis qui est in cælo.' Joan. ch. III. v. 13.

'No man hath ascended into heaven, but He that hath descended from heaven, the son of man who is in heaven.' Chaloner. These words of Jesus to Nicodemus prove that Jesus Christ was at the same time on earth and in heaven.

more than you do. And here it is that all our metaphysical reasonings upon the Eucharist come to a termination, in our ignorance.

I will add one general observation upon mysteries. Revelation speaks to us of a supernatural order, and talks to us of a life to come and of the kingdom of God. This revelation comes from heaven and invites us thither: it shews us the road and acquaints us with the means of arriving at it. Is it surprising that in all that it teaches about this unknown world there should be found some mysterious dogmas, whilst this world, in which we are born, this world, which has been created for us, every where offers us nothing but impenetrable objects, every where, nothing but mysteries? We see every thing that passes around us, and we understand nothing, absolutely nothing. Fix upon any object you please in this world, from the smallest grain to the majestic cedar, from the imperceptible insect that would be wearied with traversing over the head of a pin, to the most monstrous animal, from the atom to the globes that roll over our heads in a space of immeasurable extent, and with a rapidity of movement that the imagination even cannot follow in its flight: every thing is mystery to us: every thing, both the drop of water that is shed from the cloud, and the sprig of the herb, that we tread under our feet, and the grain of sand that is carried by the wind, every thing is inexplicable; both that which we perceive and that with which we come more or less in contact or connection: every thing confounds our enquiry, every thing is mystery, and without doubt the greatest mystery to man is man himself.^a Nevertheless we believe the existence of the objects, which surround us, and we have good reason for believing it, because the proofs of it are most certain. It is then upon proofs that depends and ought to depend our belief in every thing, whether in the natural or supernatural order: it is to proof that we must all adhere. What is proved, whether in itself conceivable or not, what is proved ought to be believed, and cannot be otherwise

^a ‘Make me understand and develope to me these inferior terrestrial things, and I will believe you capable of penetrating also into sublime and divine things.’ *Saint Augustine.*

than believed. Whence it follows that our examination ought to refer, not to the nature of the dogmas, which exceed the limits of our minds, but to the proofs of their existence, which we are capable of seeing and judging about. It is therefore a very foolish way of setting about it to say with your teachers: 'God cannot reveal that which is repugnant to reason; now the doctrine of the Eucharist is repugnant to reason: therefore, &c.' For then they are forced to enter into the nature of things that we all hold to be incomprehensible, and of course to wander from unknown to unknown, and to reason in the dark. But the method that good sense points out, and that the consciousness of our weakness should suggest, is this: 'God cannot reveal what is repugnant to reason; now, he has revealed or he has not revealed the dogmas of the Eucharist; therefore, &c.' For here we can all understand one another; here the examination and decision are brought to a level with our minds. It becomes a question of fact: Has God or has he not revealed the mystery of the Eucharist? If it is not proved that God has revealed it, let us all with one accord throw aside the mystery: if on the contrary the proofs of it are certain, we are all of us absolutely bound to submit to it: you and your teachers must indispensably admit it, pay homage to it, and throw aside the vain objections of an impotent and conceited reason. Now I wish to enter upon an examination of this question of fact with you: I undertake to convince you that the mystery of the Eucharist has been revealed to us, such as we now receive it.

We have seen that revelation had been transmitted to us by word of mouth and by writing: that, to know it entirely, we must have recourse to the two-fold deposit of scripture and tradition. I will proceed therefore to lay them before your eyes one after the other: and I hope, with the assistance of heaven, to produce in their favour proofs so decisive that you will be obliged to acknowledge, that this mystery, inconceivable as it is, has certainly been revealed to the world by Jesus Christ, and that the decrees of the Church upon the Eucharist are manifestly conformable with both the deposits of revelation.

The holy scripture,—The words of promise.

Open, if you please, the 6th chapter of the Gospel of Saint John, which is too long to be here transcribed entire: and have the goodness merely to follow, with the book in your hand, the argument with which this chapter will supply you. The Evangelist relates in how miraculous a manner our Saviour fed in the desert the five thousand men who had followed him: how he withdrew himself by flight from the transports of their admiration, and the honours they wished to pay him by proclaiming him King: how towards night he rejoined the vessel of the apostles in the middle of the sea of Tiberias, walking over the waters to them: how, in fine, he himself was rejoined the next day at Caphernaum, by the multitude he had fed the day before. The conversation between Jesus and the Jewish multitude, which cannot be sufficiently meditated upon, commences at the 25th verse. After having blamed their eagerness for perishable food, and their indifference in seeking for meat that endureth to life everlasting, he tells them that the means of obtaining it is to believe in him whom God has sent them: he reproaches them for their incredulity in his regard, in spite of the miracles he had performed in their presence. He adds that the manna of which he had spoken, and which their fathers had eaten in the desert, was not the heavenly bread: that the bread of God is that which cometh down from heaven: that he himself is the true heavenly bread, that he is come down from heaven: that he had been sent by his Father to save them. At these words the Jews no longer contain themselves. *‘Is not this Jesus, the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know? How then saith he, I came down from heaven?’* But Jesus without revealing to them the secret of his human birth, still leads them to his celestial origin and to his divine mission, and insists more strongly than ever upon the obligation of believing in his words and his testimony. *‘Amen, amen I say to you: he that believeth in me hath everlasting life.’* What is the meaning of this

exordium, and of this manner of opening himself by halves and by degrees? How comes it, that he reminds them at repeated intervals of the necessity of the faith due to his character, his miracles and divinity? What is the tendency of these preliminary recommendations? In what are they to end, or what is he thinking of proposing to them? Something very extraordinary no doubt, and very difficult to be received; otherwise he would have explained himself without making use of all these precautions.

The plan he always adopted was distantly to announce the great mysteries he was to accomplish. Thus he taught the necessity of baptism for entering the kingdom of heaven, before he instituted it: thus also his disciples often heard him discourse upon his passion, death, and resurrection, and on the descent of the Holy Ghost; thus he announced in this very chapter^a his ascension and return into heaven. By admonishing them before hand, he kept their minds in expectation: he humoured also the weakness of man by sparing him the too lively impressions that unforeseen prodigies would have made upon his senses. Induced by these same motives he gives them intimation of a miracle which he was intending to work, and which would still more astonish human reason. He selected for its announcement the circumstance, which had the most analogy and connection with the Eucharist, that of the multiplication of the loaves, of which the very people whom he was addressing had just been witnesses.

After having convinced them of all the claims he had to their entire confidence, he proceeds at last to declare the object he is about, and expresses it concisely in these words, ‘I am the living bread which came down from heaven. If any man eat of this bread he shall live forever: and the bread that I will give is my flesh, for the life of the world.’^b The secret hitherto concealed is now divulged: the great mystery is declared: it has been heard: it has been understood to signify a real presence; but will this real presence be believed? No: the Jews instead of trusting to Jesus Christ as to

^a Verse 62.—^b Verse 51.

the manner in which he would give them his flesh to eat, think only of that in which they eat common flesh: they moreover break out into murmurs, look at one another with marks of disapprobation and repugnance, and quickly exclaim: 'How can this man give us his flesh to eat?' They had therefore clearly understood him to speak of a real manducation.

We will proceed no farther for the present. I have here two observations to make to you. When we propose to your teachers and those of their communion the august mystery of the Eucharist, do they not immediately begin to contest it? do they not shew towards our belief signs of disapprobation, contempt, and aversion? do they not disdainfully reply to us in the manner of the Jews of this gospel; 'How can he give us his flesh to eat?' In vain do we endeavour to represent to them that the bread of God is that which cometh down from heaven; that 'this bread that he has given us is his flesh, that flesh which he has given for the life of the world: and that what God demands of us, is to believe in him whom he has sent;' and that according to the solemn declaration of our Saviour upon this same subject, 'he who believes in him has everlasting life.' In vain do we represent to them again that how high or incomprehensible soever this real manducation may be, the promise has quite as certainly proceeded from the mouth of Jesus Christ, and that if it is above reason to conceive it, it evidently is against reason to doubt of his word, where we cannot doubt that he has given it, and when we acknowledge his divinity. They cease not replying to us with the incredulous Jews; 'How can he give us his flesh to eat?'

Let us for a moment change the scene of action, and suppose that one of your missionaries, explaining to infidel this point of Christian doctrine, should produce, without intending it, the idea of a real manducation in the minds of his audience, and that they, being shocked at the proposition, cried out: 'What is it you mean to say; or how shall your God be able to give us his flesh to eat?' What would your missionary reply? Should he not say that they had mistaken the meaning of his

words ; that he never intended to propose to them the belief of a real manducation : that the flesh of Jesus Christ is not true but figurative meat : that his blood is not real, but ideal drink ; that they have only to eat his flesh and drink his blood by faith : that the Eucharistic bread is the symbol of his body, the wine the symbol of his blood : that both one and the other are signs which his love has condescended to consecrate and leave us after him, to console us for his absence. In this way, or at least something like it, would your missionary explain himself in order to remove every idea of a real manducation. But does Jesus Christ set himself in this manner about removing the same idea, at which the Jews shewed themselves so shocked ? What reply does he make to the mad insult they offer him, by saying before his face ; ‘How can this man give us his flesh to eat?’ Let us hear what he has in reply.

‘Amen, amen, I say unto you (an affirmation which from the mouth of the Man-God is equivalent to an oath); except you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, you shall not have life in you. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath everlasting life: and I will raise him up in the last day. For my flesh is meat *indeed* and my blood is drink *indeed*: He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, abideth in me and I in him. As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father: so also he that eateth me, the same also shall live by me. This is the bread that came down from heaven, He that eateth of this bread shall live for ever.’ Are you not struck with what you have just heard ? Is there any thing wanting to these words to determine their meaning ? Confess that this language is very different from that which we have heard from the mouth of your missionary. Jesus Christ, far from removing the idea of a real manducation, confirms it anew in the mind of the Jews, shocked as they had already been at it : far from softening down the sense he had already given to his first words, he confirms it by an oath, and continues to present it perpetually in still more energetic terms : far from saying, like your teacher, that his flesh is but figurative meat, his blood an ideal drink, he affirms that his flesh is meat in-

deed, his blood, drink *indeed*. In the discourses of the missionary, we hear of nothing but of figure, of symbol, of spiritual manducation, of a memorial and of absence: in that of Jesus Christ there is nothing of all this, not a word of symbolical or figurative language: in it every thing expresses, every thing confirms the reality of his flesh as meat, and of his blood as drink, the reality of the manducation: every thing declares and supposes his presence in the sacrament. He there communicates himself to him who eats it, as common meat is communicated to him who takes it and derives life from it: 'He that eateth me, abideth in me and I in him.' And again, he that shall eat him shall live by him as he lives by the Father: therefore he shall live by him in reality and in substance, as He lives by his Father. In fine, the truth of the manducation is compared to that of the mission he has received, and what is there more real and better attested than this heavenly mission? Thus you find on the part of Jesus Christ, his presence, communion and intimacy, by the fact of his body and blood being really given as meat and drink: on the part of man, the reality of the manducation, the certain pledge of life, of resurrection and salvation: and all these prodigies attested by the reiterated affirmations and even by the oath of the Son of God. What more do you want to determine with certainty the meaning he attached to his words? What is wanting in them to convince you, and force your belief? After having exposed, repeated and confirmed so many times the sense of his real presence, shall not Jesus Christ succeed at last in persuading you to believe it: and will you always say with these blind and obstinate Jews: 'How can this man give us his flesh to eat?'

Still one more observation. According to the principle of your teachers, the Jews could only have been wrong in understanding literally what he had said figuratively, and in taking for a real manducation, that which according to our Saviour's intention was only to take place by faith. But here by attempting to give this turn to the fault of the Jews, your teachers themselves are mistaken. In fact, had it been so, Jesus Christ would have immediately perceived the error of

the Jews, and would not have permitted them to remain in it. There only needed a word, to correct their mistake, to appease their murmurs, to reconcile their hearts to his doctrine: and yet this most simple explanation he refused to give them! He who always corrected his disciples, whenever they mistook his meaning,^a he who had just performed a miracle to feed this multitude of Jews, and had attached them to him by his favours, he who came down from heaven but to instruct and to save,^b he sees them become irritated and embittered against him merely from a misunderstanding, which he can easily remove, and he refuses to do it! he leaves them in error! what do I say? He himself throws them into it! for the strength of his expressions necessarily implied the reality. The Jews understood them so, neither ought they to have taken them in an opposite sense. It belonged to our Saviour to remove from their minds the idea that he had given them of the reality, if he had not wished that they should believe it; yet he does no such thing. It was the reality then that he had in view, the reality that he meant, the reality that he had promised, and that he wished them to believe beforehand on the word and assurance that he gave them of accomplishing it on a future occasion.

The fault of the Jews did not so much consist in misunderstanding him as in refusing to believe him, and if they deserved to be condemned, it was not for want of understanding so much as for a want of faith. I will explain myself: they understood Jesus Christ to say that he would give in reality his flesh to eat and his blood to drink; and they had had good reason for understanding him so: for, most assuredly it was what he had said. They judged that he could not give them his flesh to eat in the manner that the flesh of animals is eaten: and in this again they were right. What then was their fault? It was this: they were not aware of any other way of eating flesh than of tearing it with their teeth, either raw and bloody, or cooked and dressed: and because this is the only manner they are acquainted

^a St. Mark, ch. XVI. v. 24.—^b St. Matth. ch. XVI. v. 11.—ch. XV. v. 16, &c.

with, they conclude that there can be no other manner, and will not believe that there can be some other way unknown to them. They come to a decision according to their own ideas, and measure their faith by their limited conceptions: and not seeing the possibility of what Jesus announces to them they refuse to believe it.^a But had they not often heard speak of him as of an extraordinary personage? Had they not approached, known and followed him? Had they not been witness of many miracles, and quite recently, of the multiplication of the loaves? His deportment, his features, his august and majestic countenance, from which beamed a ray of his shrouded divinity;^b his conversation full of a surprising wisdom, his most holy and pure life, every thing should have inspired them with confidence; every thing should have discovered to them in his person a superior character, a prophet who held nature under his

* What Jesus Christ had already said to the Jews, with what he afterwards added in speaking in their presence to his disciples, was sufficient to let them understand that they must not adhere to the idea of a carnal manducation. He had already said, many times, that he was himself the living bread, the bread come down from heaven: that the bread that he would give them to eat was his flesh, which he would give for the life of the world: that whoever should eat of this bread should live for ever. By these repeated declarations he gave them sufficiently to understand, that they should eat his flesh under the form or appearance of bread, that they should participate of the substance of his body and be nourished by it under the appearance and image of this ordinary aliment of man: and when soon after he said to his disciples that they should see him go up to where he was before, was it not for the purpose of teaching them that he should not give his flesh to be eaten in a visible manner, because they should see him visibly disappear and mount up into heaven in body and person with all the sensible and natural proportions of the human body? Was not this telling them that although he should give them his flesh to eat, it would still remain, as before, living and entire: that therefore he spoke not of ordinary flesh, which must be given to support a mortal life, and to be torn in pieces and consumed when eaten?

^b Certe fulgor ipse et majestas divinitatis occult, quæ etiam in humanâ facie relucebat, ex primo ad se videntes trahere poterat aspectu. Hieron. *Homil. in Matth.* lib. I.

control. In addition to this, he had just revealed to them that he was come down from heaven, that he had been sent to them by God, his Father: imposture could have no share in such a soul as his was shewn to be, nor could lies proceed from his mouth. The Jews therefore ought to have believed in his heavenly mission and his divinity; they ought to have given credit to all his discourses, and then have said to themselves: 'We cannot conceive, it is true, in what manner he can make us eat his flesh and drink his blood: but since he has said it and assured us of it, it certainly must be possible: he certainly must have means, which we know nothing of, for the accomplishment of his promise. He is holy, he is good: he cannot sport with our credulity: he is sent by God, he comes from heaven: he therefore knows all things and can do all things whatsoever he pleases: and when once he assures us that he will give us his flesh to eat and his blood to drink, we are immediately persuaded of it; we are convinced by his holy word, and without being able to conceive it, we believe it.' This is what they should have thought, should have said and firmly confessed. Their fault and condemnation lie in not having thought or acknowledged it; in having cast aside so many motives which required their entire confidence and reliance upon him; in having preferred their own conceptions to his: in having presumed to consider him as capable of proposing to them what is impossible, that is, of wishing to deceive them, or of deceiving himself, and, in this insulting alternative, in obstinately refusing to believe him.

These reflections on the unhappiness of the Jews create in my mind another reflection; which makes me afraid for you and those of your communion. Like unto these Jews, you reject the reality of the manducation that Jesus Christ announces to them, and with them you say: 'How can he give us his flesh to eat?' But in you this incredulity becomes much more unpardonable. The Jews did not at that time know of the resurrection and ascension of our Saviour, or of the descent of the Holy Ghost announced by him, and followed by so many prodigies that have renewed the face of the earth. These splendid and divine operations have in your regard placed the

authority of Jesus Christ beyond any thing the Jews could at that time know of it. They had seen some of his miracles, and had from them concluded that he was the prophet expected in those times. For his divinity they had his assertion, and it was sufficient in such a personage. But, besides this assertion, you have all the proofs of it, and this is much more. You admit these proofs, you profess the divinity of Jesus Christ. Well then ! Sir, either cease to profess it, or cease to refuse your belief in him : for to acknowledge him as God and not believe his word : to hear him clearly telling you that he will give you in reality his flesh to eat, as he has said, and as is demonstrated, and nevertheless to maintain, to persist obstinately in maintaining that the thing is impossible : this is an extravagance much more insulting, much more to be condemned, than the blind incredulity of the Jews.

The Evangelist,* as if desirous of giving greater authenticity to his recital, remarks that this conversation took place in the village of Capharnaum, in full synagogue, where the multitude had assembled around Jesus. After the care he had taken to repeat and confirm so often, as we have heard, the reality of the manducation, it would seem that all his hearers should have ceased from their original opposition, and believed unanimously in his words. A melancholy and lamentable example of the weakness, the pride and blindness of the human mind. Incredulity, far from yielding to repeated assertions, becomes irritated at them. It is no longer among the people only, that it appears ; it reaches even his disciples. ' This saying is hard, and who can hear it ?' said many amongst them. Jesus, who read their hearts, turns to them and says ; ' Doth this scandalize you ? If then you shall see the son of man ascend up where he was before ?' Let us weigh well these words : coming from such a person they can never be sufficiently thought upon. If you are shocked, if you are scandalized at what I say to you, that I shall give you my flesh to eat, now that it is upon earth and before your eyes, how much more will you be scandalized when you shall see it go up

* St. John. VI. v. 60.—^b Verse 61.—^c Verse 62, 63.

to heaven and disappear from your sight? If this manducation appears to you incredible now that you see my body, how much more so will it appear to you, when you shall see it no more? His doctrine therefore was such that after his resurrection it would present more difficulties to be understood than before, and from this I conclude that his doctrine was not such as the reformed attribute to him. For it could not become more difficult for his disciples to comprehend a spiritual and figurative manducation after, than before his ascension: it would not have required any greater exertion to unite themselves to their master as a Saviour and a God, when they should believe him to be at the right hand of his Father, than when they saw him in the midst of them. Indeed, so far must their faith have been from finding a greater difficulty in reaching him in heaven than upon earth, that it must on the contrary have found much less: for the ascension is one of the most splendid proofs of his divinity, and nothing was more calculated to excite the hearts and inflame the faith of the disciples, than the majestic and ravishing spectacle of this prodigy. It must, therefore, become more easy to them afterwards, to believe in Jesus Christ, to feed themselves with his remembrance by receiving the pledges of his love, to unite themselves to him in thought, and to embrace him by faith as their Redeemer and God. But in the catholic dogma of the real manducation, the removal of his person, the absence of his visible and natural body must have been for his disciples a fresh difficulty in believing the mystery, and this is so true, that your theologians rest upon the fact of the ascension as an argument against the real presence, and unceasingly repeat to us that he is as far from our altars as is earth from heaven. They are blind and perceive not, that, contrary to their intention, this reasoning turns precisely to the support of our doctrine, by giving it the very character which Jesus Christ here assigns to it, that of appearing more inconceivable after his ascension.

In announcing to his disciples, he insinuated to them and gave them sufficiently to understand that in the manducation of his flesh there should be nothing for the senses, as they had imagined; and that his presence in it

would neither be palpable nor visible, since, according to his natural presence, they would see him disappear and rise up to heaven. He informed them, moreover, that they were not to judge of his body as of other human bodies, incapable of themselves of a similar flight: that his was to be of a divine nature; his flesh being that of the son of God, on which he could imprint an all powerful virtue, and which he could easily convert into a supernatural state. I beg you to remark also that he is not satisfied with saying to them that they should see him go up into heaven, but also moreover *go up where he was before*. This he said to convince them of his divinity, wishing to ground upon this transcendant and sovereign motive, the faith which he required of them, and which they refused to his words? Now the figurative sense which you give them is so easy, and so much within the reach of our own ideas, that, in that sense, neither would the disciples have ever refused their assent to it, nor would Jesus Christ have had any need to bring forward his divinity in order to extort their belief. Therefore, this sense absolutely cannot be the sense of his words; the only one it is possible to give them is that of the reality.

Your divines have imagined that the following verse brings to the spiritual and figurative sense the whole previous discourse of our Saviour. You shall decide upon it: 'It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I have spoken to you are spirit and life.'^a We have already proved that the words which Jesus Christ had spoken were decisive for the reality; these therefore cannot give them the figurative sense: for it would be absurd to suppose that our Saviour would teach at the same time, or by turns, in the same discourse and on the same subject, two senses as opposite as are the reality and the figure. There is also a second and still more forcible proof. If Jesus Christ had concluded by asserting that whatever he had just said must be understood only in a figurative sense, it is evident that both the Jews, who had exclaimed against the real manducation, and the disciples, who had found it too

^a Verse 64.

hard to be understood, would immediately have been reconciled to his doctrine, and more tenderly attached than ever to their master. * And yet they all left him, even after his last words and walked no more with him.† Their subsequent departure proves, that the disciples discovered in these words no explanation in the figurative sense, and that our Saviour gave them none of this kind, since his only intention in giving it would have been to disabuse them and retain them about his person.

But if you ask of the signification of these words ; ‘ the flesh profiteth nothing : it is the spirit that quickeneth ; ’ I give you that which best agrees with what precedes and follows in the discourse of our Saviour. It is well known that in the scripture language *the flesh* signifies the corporeal senses, or the carnal and corrupted reason of man ; while *the spirit* denotes the grace of God, and the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Thus our Lord said to Peter : ‘ Flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but my Father who is in heaven. ’^b Thus Saint Paul said to the Romans that Christians ; ‘ walk not according to the flesh, but according to the spirit. ’^c He details to the Galatians the works of *the flesh* and those of *the spirit*.^d In these and other passages, the spirit and the flesh are taken in the sense that I have explained : they are also taken in the same sense in the verse under examination. Our Lord therefore said, that *the flesh*, that is, the senses or corrupt reason of man profiteth nothing towards the discovery or belief of what he had announced. It is still this reality of manducation on which he has so much insisted, of which he here declares that we cannot judge by *the flesh* or by a carnal reason which profiteth nothing, and that it could neither be discerned nor believed except by the *quickenings spirit*, that is, by the grace and the light of God. Accordingly he immediately adds : ‘ But there are some of you who believe not..... ’^e therefore did I say unto you, that no man can come unto me, unless it be given him by my Father ; ’^f which very much resembles what he said to Peter, who had just been con-

* Verse 66.—^b Matth. ch. XVI. v. 17.—^c ch. VIII. v. 4. — ch. V. v. 20.

^e St. John, ch. VI. v. 65.—^f Ch. VI. v. 66.

fessing his divinity: 'Flesh and blood hath not revealed 'it to thee, but my Father who is in heaven.' The reason in fact is that faith is a gift of God, and that in order to be more influenced by the proofs on which the credibility of mysteries rests, than by the difficulties that the *senses oppose* to them, we stand in need of succour from above, of the lights and inspiration of the Holy Spirit.* According to the exposition I have just given you, every thing is regular and connected, every thing is consistent in the discourse of our Saviour.

-Have you remarked these words: 'Therefore (i. e. because they do not believe) did I say unto you, that no 'man can come unto me, unless it be given him by my 'Father?' That is to say, that there was need of an assistance, a particular grace from heaven for believing the manducation that was announcing. It was not therefore the manducation, that is recognised in your communion, so natural, so conformable to our ideas that it presents not even the shadow of a mystery and requires not for its belief any effort of the mind, and still less any particular assistance of divine grace.

The words which immediately precede, present also a reflection which I must not permit to escape; 'But there 'are some of you who believe not.' Whence comes this reproach of their incredulity? To what can it refer? Ask your divines, if you please, and you will see their embarrassment, or rather their inability to give any satisfactory reply to your question. At what then were these disciples offended? What was it they refused to believe? It was not any strong expression which our Saviour had made use of; for in that case he would have softened it down: and therefore the reproach of incredulity falls upon the things and not upon the expressions. Neither was it the manducation taken in the figurative sense, a thing too simple to admit of the possibility of a moment's hesitation; it was therefore the reality that

* Spiritus est qui vivificat, caro non prodest quidquam: quod indicat ista Spiritus sancti auxilio intelligi oportere. Carnem enim hoc est rationem humanam in hisce divinis rebus nihil prodesse, hoc est caligare et ineptire — *Centur. Lutheran.* Cent. I. §. IV. col. 167.

they absolutely would not admit. But, in the principles of your divines, that would deserve no reproach. These disciples thought it to be impossible; and do not your brethren think the same? and according to them did not these disciples, by refusing their consent, reject what they ought to have believed, by holding it to be impossible? They could not therefore merit any reproach; and Jesus Christ (may he forgive us!) Jesus Christ reproached them without cause.

• After this many of his disciples went back and walked no more with him.* Here ask again the most skilful of your ministers: ask them why these disciples abandon their master? In vain will you expect a solid reply. They will always tell you, and they have nothing more to say, that these disciples had permitted themselves to be staggered at expressions which seemed to them to favour the reality of the manducation, which in point of fact our Saviour had only proposed in figure. But he who saw into the interior, would immediately have seen their mistake, and to remove it he had only to say; 'When I spoke to you of giving you my flesh to eat, I merely intended to give you the sign and figure of it, and to inform you that by taking them you would unite yourselves to my flesh by faith: and are not you already thus united, you who are my disciples?' And they would have fallen at his feet and would never have left him. In fact it is ridiculous to explain this fatal separation by a mere misunderstanding of terms. Men, indeed, are liable to this in their mutual communications, because they cannot read each others thoughts; but it is absolutely inadmissible between these disciples and Jesus Christ, who clearly saw whatever was passing in their minds. Consider their departure from Christ: seek out a motive for it as long as you please; you will find it only in the incomprehensibility of the mystery. In vain does Jesus Christ remind them of his heavenly mission, of his divinity, and the miracles which attested both: nothing could persuade them. Neither the admiration of his person, nor the works of a power that commands nature, nor the benefits they had received, nor those which

* Verse 67.

they had reason to expect. could make them overcome their repugnance to this real manducation. They obstinately persist in judging of it by *the flesh*, by the corporeal senses, by a confined and corrupted reason: they deem it impossible, and will hear no more of it: they withdraw. Alas! too often, since then, has this unhappy separation been renewed in the world! How many children of the Church have been lost through the like repugnance to believe the same mystery! How many left her bosom at the time of the Reformation, and since that epoch, how many were not and still are not reconciled to it, on account of the same difficulty of embracing this incomprehensible dogma! Thus the same effect that it produced at its first announcement in the world, it still continues to produce in our days: the aversion it occasioned in many disciples to Jesus Christ, it still occasions in Christians to his Church.

At the time our Saviour saw himself abandoned by many of his disciples, he perceives his apostles, in suspense perhaps between the authority of their master and the incomprehensibility of his doctrine, humbly maintaining a profound silence. But he, wishing to ensure their attachment and faith, said to the twelve: 'Will you also leave me? And Simon Peter answered him: 'Lord, to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life: we have believed and have known that thou art the Christ the Son of God.'^a Had the apostles here given, as a motive of their continuance with him, that they had taken the words of Jesus Christ in the figurative sense, and understood that to eat his flesh and drink his blood meant to be intimately united to him by faith, then it would be fair to conclude that the disciples had taken those same words in too literal a sense. But so far are the apostles from expressing any such thing, that it is evident from their answer that they had inferred from them the reality of the manducation, as well as the disciples: but that having more confidence and being less disposed to judge by the *flesh* than by the *spirit*, and corresponding better with grace, they left entirely to our Saviour the manner in which he would accomplish his

^a Verses 68, 69, 70.

promise, although they could not conceive or imagine any. They believed what they could not understand, but it was what Jesus Christ had positively told them over and over again to believe: they believed because the words of truth and life eternal being in his mouth, he could not himself be deceived, nor deceive them: they believed, because they knew him to be the Son of God, the Christ, having power to do beyond what human reason could attain or conceive. These were their motives. Assuredly the easy figurative sense would have required none of this exertion. There was, therefore, something incomprehensible to them in the words of our Saviour: they discovered in them the ineffable mystery that we discover: and the motives upon which they grounded their belief are absolutely the same and the only ones on which the Catholic Church has always rested hers.

Let us, if you please, cast a rapid glance over the arguments we have developed in the examination of this chapter.

1^o Jesus Christ begins by producing the great motives that are to convince his hearers of the obligations of believing in his words. Therefore he has something to propose to them which will be in itself very difficult to be believed.

2^o Jesus Christ comes to the proposal of it, and says that he is the *bread that quickeneth*, that the bread which he will give them to eat, *is his flesh, which he will give for the life of the world*. The Jews take the natural sense of these words, and reject it, because the manducation of his flesh appears to them impossible: therefore they understood his words of a true and real manducation.

3^o The carnal manner in which they represented to themselves this manducation, evidently supposes the reality of it, and not less evidently excludes the figure. Then, it was the reality they understood.

4^o If they had been mistaken in understanding the reality, our Saviour would have disabused them immediately. But far from disabusing them, by explaining himself in a figurative sense, he resumes what he first proposed, repeats it six times in succession, and always with expressions still stronger for the reality and even

with an oath. Therefore he had the reality in view, and in it he required their belief.

5^o Many of the disciples take offence at the words they had just heard our Saviour pronounce in six successive verses, and declare them to be too hard to be borne. Therefore these words conveyed the sense of the reality, incomprehensible to the human mind, and not the figurative sense so conformable to our ideas.

6^o Instead of softening down the expressions which alienated the disciples, Jesus Christ declares that if they are scandalized now, they shall soon be scandalized still more when they shall see him going up to where he was before; that is, that his doctrine will then appear to them more incredible than before his ascension. Now the figurative manducation becomes still more easy to believe after his ascension, and the real manducation appears more incredible in consequence. Therefore it is not the former, but the latter which had been announced.

7^o Jesus Christ who never reproached his disciples with not having understood the sense of his discourse, reproaches them here for not believing. Now the reproach for not believing can only fall on the reality. Therefore he had announced the reality in his discourse.

8^o Jesus reproaches them with not believing in this reality. Therefore they did wrong, and you do still more so, in pronouncing it to be indefensible. The Jews and disciples judged soundly according to you, by deeming this manducation impossible. Therefore your judgment, like that of the Jews and the disciples, is in direct opposition to that of Jesus Christ, and you are all equally condemned together.

9^o Jesus declares that no one can believe in him concerning this manducation, if he have not received grace from his Father. Now, to believe a figurative manducation there is no need of any grace, since there is no need of any exertion: therefore he speaks not of that kind of manducation.

10^o The doctrine of our Saviour on the manducation is such that it hindered many of the Jews from believing in him, and induced many disciples to abandon him. Now the doctrine of the Catholic Church on this point is

also such, that it prevents many Christians from joining its creed, and has induced many of its children to quit it: whereas the doctrine of the reformed, whatever be the strength of the expressions they make use of in the Lord's Supper, has never engaged any one to quit them, nor prevented any one from joining them. Therefore the doctrine of the reformed upon this manducation has not the characters of the doctrine of our Saviour, whereas that of the Catholic Church has them all; therefore the catholic faith is the doctrine of our Saviour.

11^o The disciples leave their master rather than believe; the apostles adhere to him, grounding their belief on his divinity and his sovereign power. Now the former would never have abandoned such a master for not believing so simple a thing as a figurative manducation, and the latter would have had no need, in order to believe it, to recall to mind his infinite power and his divinity. Therefore neither the one nor the other understood this manducation in a figurative sense: therefore that of the reality is the only sense, which can explain at once the opposite conduct of these disciples and the apostles.

In concluding this article, permit me, Sir, to address to you one final observation. I know not what impression will have been made upon you by this contrast between the apostles on one side, and the Jews and many disciples on the other. Change the times and the names, and you there read the history of the opposition that exists between those of your communion and us. I feel with regret every thing they will find odious in this comparison: I entreat them to pardon me for it: it is even more painful for me to have to tell them hard truths, than for them to hear them: nothing would ever have induced me to do it, but the hope of being serviceable to them, even at the purchase of their displeasure. We must therefore here again open for a moment before you and them the scene at Capernaum, in order that you may see how strikingly it applies to the supporters of your reformation. They have renewed it, and they copy it daily with so much fidelity that you will see them performing the same characters and the same parts as the Jews and disciples; you will see them borrow their

language, imitate their actions, their conduct and carry on the resemblance even to the catastrophe. In fact, when we tell them that *Jesus Christ is the living bread that came down from heaven: that the bread which he gives us to eat is his own flesh, the same that he has given for the life of the world*. they rise up against this proposition, which is precisely that which, in the mouth of Jesus Christ, produced the departure of the Jews. Like them they shew a thousand signs of impatience, of disdain, of contempt: they hold us as foolish and absurd, they treat our doctrine as impossible and extravagant, and thus produce again under a thousand insulting forms the rude exclamation of the Jews: 'How can this man give us his flesh to eat?' In vain do we represent, *unless we eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, we shall not have life in us: that his flesh is meat indeed and his blood is drink indeed: that we learn it from him, who was sent by his Father, and who came down from heaven to instruct and serve us: that his order is that we all believe in his word, &c.*: they still remain as immovable as ever in their past incredulity: they pass over to the disciples and repeat with them and with much more bitterness: *This saying is hard, and who can hear it?* We persevere in our endeavours to soften their inflexibility: we suggest that this mystery is proposed to us by him who is gone up to where he was before: that it is unreasonable to believe in his divinity and not to believe in his doctrine: these proud men listen no more to us: they treat us either with contempt or pity, and the same reason that induced the disciples to leave Christ, induces them also to leave us. Let them boast now of the high antiquity of their principles: they may date them, if they please, from the Christian era: incontestibly they have a right to do so: on this point I recognise them as partisans and associates of the Jews in this gospel, as successors and heirs of the disciples, I mean of those ungrateful and unfortunate disciples, whom the Holy Spirit has marked out to us in scripture as the first apostates from Jesus Christ. Can a man be a Christian, and not blush at such a descent? Can he be a Christian and not tremble at the idea of sharing in the opinions, obstinacy, desertion, and lot of these ancient renege?

For your part at least, Sir, reflect, I conjure you, on the danger to which you are exposed by the prejudices of your education. Have the courage to emancipate yourself from them; it certainly must cost you less to quit an opinion which is not of your own choice. Imagine yourself for a moment in the midst of the synagogue where this important affair was discussed, and that you witness all that passes. You distinguish our divine Saviour surrounded by his apostles and disciples: You attentively listen with them to the words that come from his mouth, and at that part of his discourse where he comes to the mystery, you hear the confused murmurs, and afterwards the declared opposition of the multitude. In vain does our Saviour exert himself to persuade them, by repeatedly affirming what he had just announced; the multitude remain deaf: and soon you remark the repugnance even of many of his disciples, you notice their words of contradiction, and then their entire desertion from him. On the other side you admire the firmness, the liveliness of the faith of the apostles, and what is more striking through the whole of this scene, the calm countenance and unalterable sweetness of the Man-God. All this passes before your eyes; I suppose you to be present at it. Now what are you yourself going to do? you must declare yourself. On what side will you range yourself? will you adhere with them to your divine master? or will you turn your back upon him with the crowd of the murmurers? You are indignant at my question: is there any room for hesitation? You say to me. Well then! Sir, take now the part that you would then decidedly have taken with the apostles. The dispute unfortunately still continues. It has been renewed for nearly three centuries with more violence than at its birth, and with still more deplorable consequences. It is no longer between the Jews and in the synagogue, but in the Church and among Christians: Jesus Christ is still in the midst of them: he continues to speak the same language to them. You have just heard him: surrender yourself therefore to him.

LETTER VII.

The Words of Institution.

THE strange and inconceivable proposition which our Saviour had just made in the synagogue, the disputes and contradiction it had generally excited among the crowd of his hearers, the repeated declarations of Jesus, which instead of quieting their minds and bringing them again to him, provoked the murmurs even of many of his disciples: the formal opposition of the latter, their defection, their desertion, the more successful appeal made to the twelve, their open and declared profession of faith, their persevering fidelity, all these circumstances should give importance and celebrity to the scene at Capharnaum. Those who had been present at it, must have long talked it over together, and likewise have related it to those who were not there; the fugitive disciples particularly, to justify their desertion and apparent ingratitude. It will then have made a noise in the world, as men were often discoursing upon the extraordinary personage who for more than two years had been astonishing Judea by the wisdom of his doctrines, by benefits and prodigies without number. But it is above all in the minds of the apostles and the faithful disciples that it must have left the most profound impressions. Amongst those who had left them, they had to regret the loss of friends and companions, with whom they had hitherto shared their assiduous attention to their gracious master. Without doubt it cost them much at that time to see them no longer by their side: and this striking absence called incessantly to their recollection the cause of their unfortunate separation. This cause itself, so very unexpected, so profoundly mysterious, must have been to them an inexhaustible source of reflection, of conversation, and confidential communications with one another. What then! we are one day destined to receive truly and really his flesh to eat and his blood to drink? Yes, we are certain of it, because he himself has so strongly assured us of it.

But when? How? In what manner? &c. It is natural to think that they must have put to themselves a thousand times these and similar questions upon this astonishing mystery: neither can we refuse to believe that they mutually strengthened one another in the faith that they had already publicly professed, and that they encouraged one another to expel from their minds the various suggestions of the senses, that might present themselves. Let us put ourselves in their place. If at this distance of time, and with the mere reading of it, we are still so struck and confounded at the promise which they heard, we may easily conceive that, if it had been directly and for the first time addressed to us, it would have supplied us with abundant matter for reflection until its accomplishment. It is also to be presumed, I had almost said to be believed, that our Saviour who saw what passed in their heart, would in his goodness have condescended to recur frequently to this subject, and that to the instructions given in the synagogue, he would have added others to confirm them more in their faith, and to recompense the confidence they had so signally displayed in his words. It would be unreasonable to object to me the silence of the evangelists on this subject: we know very well that they have not related the thousandth part of what our Saviour has said. Even by St. John's account, if he had attempted to write the whole, the world would not have contained the books he must have composed. At all events, it is most certain that the apostles implicitly trusted to their Master for the moment in which he would be pleased to fulfil his promise, and that they waited for the accomplishment of it with a confused mixture of sentiments of impatience, inquietude, love, and terror. A whole year passed away in this manner. But the time was nigh at hand, the ministry of Jesus Christ was drawing to a conclusion: and soon does he announce to his disciples his near approaching death. The shorter time he has to spend among them, the more does he testify to them his affection: he treats them no more as servants but as friends. No sooner does he see them assembled around the paschal table, than he declares to them that he had ardently desired to celebrate this last

pasch with them before he suffered :^a and a little after, continuing to announce to them his death, he told them he should no more eat the pasch with them until it should be fulfilled in the kingdom of God ; then taking the chalice, he adds that he will no more drink of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God should come.^b At the conclusion of this legal supper, Jesus rises from table, and to give to his disciples an example of humility and mutual charity, he abases himself so far as to wash their feet. He then invites them to the banquet and again sits down at table with them. What more then, has he to give to them ? It is not the nourishment of their body, that now engages his attention, but that of their soul. The moment was arrived for the accomplishment of his promise: it is just going to take place. Already had he laid upon the bread his venerable and creative hands, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, he begins to pray, whether we are to suppose, that the acts of thanksgiving here spoken of by the evangelists passed mentally between him and his Father, or were heard by the guests at table. After having invoked the all-powerful virtue of his Father, he makes it fall upon the bread, by blessing it : he breaks it, and solemnly says to his apostles : ‘ Take and eat, this is my body, which is given for you.’ And in the same manner after blessing the chalice, ‘ Drink ye all of this (says he,) this is my blood of the new testament which is shed for you.’ What were then the sentiments of the apostles, and what ideas must the whole of this ceremony have awakened in their mind ? Who can doubt that what they had heard at Capharnaum was here distinctly brought to their remembrance ? Those words committed to writing so long afterwards by St. John, were therefore still echoing in their ears : ‘ The bread that I will give you to eat is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.’ And at the moment our Saviour had said, *this is my body* which is delivered for you, they necessarily saw in these words the accomplishment of the former. The connexion of the actual institution with the promise made by Jesus Christ

^a Luke, ch. XXII. v. 15.—^b Luke, ch. XXII. v. 16.

was so manifest, they both accorded and corresponded so exactly in the things and in the terms, that they must evidently have seen that what had been announced to them and what they had been hitherto expecting, was then just accomplished. Hence there is no hesitation, no doubt on their part: no question is proposed: every thing passes in a profound recollection; and the apostles receive from his hand and take with silent adoration, *that flesh which is meat indeed, and that blood which is drink indeed.*^a

The exposition you have just read is sketched from the compared narratives of the evangelists. St. John, who wrote the last of the four, has given us at length the words of the promise, which the three first had omitted, and has dispensed with the repetition of the fact of the institution, described by the others. It is very remarkable that the evangelists relating the same facts at too remote periods to have an understanding with one another, and on that account varying almost always in the circumstances and expressions, all three agree, and St. Paul after them, in relating these words of Jesus Christ: "*This is my body, this is my blood.*" This uniformity, no where else observable, denotes a particular design of the holy Spirit

^a 'The connexion of the words we read in Saint John with those of the institution is visible. There *to eat*, and here *to eat*, there *to drink*, and here *to drink*: there *flesh*, and here *flesh*; or, which amounts to the same, *body*. There *blood*, and here *blood*: there *to eat* and *drink*, the *flesh* and *blood* separately; and here the same thing. If this does not shew distinctly that all this is but one and the same mystery, one and the same truth, there no longer exists such a thing as analogy or agreement: there is no connexion nor consistency in our faith, or in the words and actions of our Saviour. But if the eating and drinking of St. John is the eating and drinking of the institution, then in St. John it is an eating and drinking with the mouth, since it is visibly of such a nature in the institution. If the flesh and blood of which St. John speaks is not the flesh and blood in spirit and in figure, but the true flesh and the true blood, in their proper and natural substance, it is the same in the institution: and we can no more interpret *this is my body, this is my blood*, of a figurative body and figurative blood, than in St. John, *unless you eat my flesh and drink my blood*, of the figure of one or the other of them.' Bossuet, *Meditations sur l'Evangile*, jour. 33.

who directed them, viz. that of teaching us "still more plainly the essential words of the mystery. Considering them in themselves, it is impossible not to be struck at once with their simplicity and their strength. This great prodigy is expressed by the plainest and simplest words to be found in human language; men would never have discovered such an expression: accordingly it is not from them that proceeds this sublimity of expression, but from him by whom the greatest wonders are as easily produced as spoken. These few words were understood in the sense of the real presence and of transubstantiation by the apostles, and after them by all the christians till the time of Berengarius and Wicklif, whose subtilties for a short time disturbed the Church. It was reserved for the sixteenth century to combat these dogmas more obstinately. And yet even the leader of the reformation could only prevail upon himself to do it by halves. He defended the real presence; and only declared himself against the way in which it was universally understood. He had at first desired, it is true, that some happy expedient might be suggested to him of getting rid of the reality, in order to do more essential injury to the cause of the papacy: a motive which was assuredly most worthy an apostle-ship like his, and which you might regard as a calumnious imputation on the part of the catholics, had not Luther himself inserted it in one of his letters.* 'But God, says Bossuet in his usual style, fixes secret boundaries to the wildest minds, and does not always permit innovators to afflict his Church as much as they would wish. Luther remained invincibly struck with the strength and simplicity of these words, *this is my body, this my blood.*'

Carlostadius, archdeacon of Wittenberg, his disciple and partisan, proved a bolder man than his master. He

* In his letter to the inhabitants of Strasburgh, he says that they would have greatly delighted him if they had supplied him with some good reason for denying the real presence, because it would have fallen in better with his design of inconveniencing the papacy: *Sciens hoc maximè modo posse me incommodare papatui.* (a)

(a) *Epist. ad. Argent* tom. VII. fol. 501. an 1520.

was the first to leap the fence, and deny the real presence. To attack the sense of the reality, in which the words of our Saviour had been understood throughout the world, he bethought himself of an explanation, but one so foolish and extravagant that it could only have come from a disordered brain. He pretended then, that Jesus Christ when he pronounced the word *this*, did not refer to what he held in his hand, but merely to his own body : and that thus the natural sense of his words was : ‘ This, that is, my body, is my body.’ This unreasonable and ridiculous interpretation put his party too much to the blush not to be immediately abandoned. They preferred giving the honour of the renewal of the sacramentarian doctrine to Zuinglius, the rival and antagonist of Luther, to whom he was a long time a subject of bitter vexation, by obstinately disputing with him the glory of being the first reformer.* Already five years had elapsed since Carlostadius had brought his discovery into the world, which paid no attention to it, when Zuinglius, who was held in great repute at Zurich, assembled in that city on the 11th of April, 1525, the famous synod, which adopted his reform. This synod was composed of two hundred citizens, all as able theologians no doubt as one could reasonably expect to be found among the Swiss burgesses in the sixteenth century. Here it was that in the presence of these new fathers of the Church, there arose a regular disputation between Zuinglius and the lay chancellor of the town upon the meaning that was to be given to the words of the Eucharist. Having only to deal with a mere burgess, and possessing likewise more boldness and fluency of language than he, the cure of Notre-Dames-des-Ermites demonstrated without difficulty, and to the

* Zuinglius had published that, from the year 1516, before the name of Luther was known, he had preached the gospel in Switzerland. Piqued at this his pretension, Luther wrote to the inhabitants of Strasburg, that he confidently assumed to himself the glory of having been the first to preach Jesus Christ, but that Zuinglius wished to rob him of his glory. ‘ How are we to hold our peace (said he) while these people disturb our Churches, and attack our authority ?’ He declares, in conclusion, ‘ that there is no medium : and that he or they must be the ministers of satan.’

perfect satisfaction of all these powerfully gifted men, that they ought to acknowledge a figurative sense in the words, *this is my body*, as in the others of the parable, *the field is the world, the seed is the word*. These were the only examples he produced, having nothing better at the time to produce : for he had not then been favoured with the apparition of the black or white personage, who came afterwards to him in a dream, to point out to him a still more analogous passage in the Bible. This council of the burgomaster and burgesses however adopted unanimously his conclusions against the real presence, and from that very day abolished, by a decree, the celebration of mass. Such is the origin of the sacramentarian opinion and of the whole reformation in general at Zurich, where two hundred ignorant laics pronounced sentence against the faith of all ages and the perpetual doctrine of the Church, as if they had been deciding upon some acres of ground, or a few scraps of meadow-land near the borders of the lake. The other towns that afterwards adopted the same principles, imitated the conduct of Zurich, and proceeded just as wisely and canonically in their decisions.

Undoubtedly, Sir, you can have no difficulty in acknowledging the absolute illegality and prodigious temerity, with which the sacramentarian opinion and the reformation were admitted at Zurich and from thence in the other cantons. You will tell me that you are but little concerned with what took place on this subject in the towns of Switzerland, Germany and France : that the Church of England alone has claims to your interest, and that upon the article of the Eucharist the canonical forms have not been laid aside, because the bishops and doctors held a convocation which pronounced, indirectly at least, against the real presence, and most positively against transubstantiation. This observation, I grant, is not devoid of reason ; in fact we perceive in the convocation an appearance of canonical form. This is not the place to expose the too positive defects that nullified all its acts and proceedings : I shall be satisfied with observing, in my turn, that drawing its objections from the holy scriptures as all the reformers did, and none of them having seen or found any thing more than another, it will

read its own refutation in that which I am now going to give to every thing that bears the name of reformation, whatever country it may inhabit, or under whatever denomination it may be distinguished. We will examine the difficulties brought against the real presence, and afterwards those against transubstantiation. It would be useless to treat separately of the adoration, an inevitable consequence of the real presence : for to believe Jesus Christ present in his sacrament, and not pay to his divine person divine honours, would be an outrage, an impiety, and a kind of apostacy. Have we not learned from Saint Paul that even at the name alone of Jesus every knee shall bow, in heaven, on earth, and under the earth ?^a

^a The convocation of 1562, in its twenty-eighth article, under pretence that our Saviour did not ordain that he should be adored in the Eucharist, suppresses and condemns indirectly the adoration we there pay to his divinity. This evidently enough unmasked its secret opinion against the real presence, and gave the world to understand that it banished Jesus Christ from its sacrament. To prove this by authorities that it must admit, I will cite those who, like itself, have suppressed the adoration; I mean the Calvinists.

Beza arguing against Luther, who had given full liberty to adore or not to adore, expresses himself as follows : ‘ Illud vero præ cæteris demiror qui adorationem illam liberam relinquant, qui tamen Christum reipsa corporaliter, ut in cælis, cum pane adesse, dari et sumi fateantur. Id enim si ita esse crederem, illius profectò non modò tolerabilem et religiosam, sed etiam necessariam arbitrarer adorationem.’ (a)

Another Calvinist refutes the Lutheran doctrine in like manner : ‘ Hanc adorationem pontificiam si neget, positâ corporali præsentia Christi in pane, crimen impietatis et contumeliæ Christi nec apud papistas, nec apud ullos sanos potes effugere.’ (b)

The Calvinistic author of the *Caution on the Book of Concord* : (c) ‘ Si Christus in pane eucharistico præsens esset corporaliter, necessariò nos ad panem hunc conversos oporteret ipsi reverentiam et adorationem Deo debitam exhibere. Alligata est autem adoratio ad hanc naturam humanam, assumptam a Filio Dei, ut ubicumque vel sensu nostro, vel verbo ipsius constat eum esse præsentem, eò dirigi adorationem et honorem Christi, animo et corpore necesse sit; sicut dictum est : *Adorent eum omnes Angeli Dei.* (d) Estque fabula impia et in Christum

(a) *De Cæna Domini*, p. 270.—(b) Balæus in *Examen recit.* p. 220.—(c) Ch. II. p. 388.—(d) Heb. c. I. v. 6.

The real presence.

We have already remarked the address of your lords spiritual of 1562 in not openly rejecting the real presence, which still had its partisans in this Convocation, and which was afterwards admitted and defended by many doctors of your Church: perhaps I may have occasion farther on to make you acquainted with them. It is nevertheless true, that the Zuinglian and Calvinistic opinions, at last prevail with you to such a degree, that, upon discoursing on this subject in your country, I have often been astonished at persons, otherwise well instructed, when I advanced that the doctrine of the real presence had found most able defenders in the Church of England: I have even been obliged for my justification to produce writings and passages that I had at first cited from memory. Permit me now to ask you, what great

contumeliosa quod aliqui (Lutherani) respondent Christum ad-
 'esse huic panem, non ut in eo adoratur, sed ut in eo comedatur,
 'neque jussisse ibi se adorari, sed edi. Suffici enim univer-
 'sale Dei mandatum de adorando Christo, ad asserendum ei sum-
 'mum honorem. Si igitur constaret eum ibi presentem esse suo
 'corpore, tam non esset nobis expectandum speciale mandatum,
 'de reverentia et honore divino ipsi in hoc pane exhibendo,
 'quàm non expectabat, nec expectare debebat. Thomas singu-
 'lare mandatum de adorando Christo, quem videbat ob oculos
 'suis stantem in conclavi, sed eo agnito, statim sui memor offi-
 'ci, procidens coram eo, exclamavit: *Dominus meus et Deus*
 '*meus.* In regis aut principis conspectum nemo sanus prodit,
 'quin ad illum converso vultu reverentiam ipsi debitam exhi-
 'beat. Que igitur fuerit impietas, si Christus tam propriè nobis
 'assistat corporaliter, ut per manus sacerdotum in ora nostra cum
 'pane se deferri patiatur, non toto animo et corpore ad panem
 'illum converso, divinos honores Christo prestare? Nec obstat
 'quod ibi non cernatur oculis. Si enim verbi ipsius testimonio
 'constaret, eum adesse ibi suo corpore, hoc magis ad credendum
 'et ibi adorandum ipsum nos obligaret, quam testimonium sen-
 'sûs nostri.

Even Chemnitius himself, the disciple of Melancthon, found himself obliged to acknowledge that the corporal presence induced the necessity of adoration. 'Nullus est qui dubitet an
 'Christi corpus in cœna sit adorandum, nisi qui cum Sacramen-
 'tariis aut negat aut dubitat in cœnâ verè Christum esse præ-
 'sentem.' (a)

(a) Examen conc. Trident. sess. 31. cap. V.

discoveries your modern theologians have made in the holy scriptures, to induce them to reject a doctrine as ancient in your country as its conversion to Christianity : to reject the natural sense which is presented to every unprejudiced mind by the words repeated by the three evangelists and by Saint Paul, *this is my body*, and according to the Syriac version of Saint Mark, *this is my very body* :^a to reject the only sense which agrees with the discourse of the premise, which most certainly speaks only of the reality, and to substitute in its place one of figure, of representation and of absence, which contradicts the promised manducation of this flesh, which is truly meat, and which was to be given for the life of the world ? But in place of discoveries, for no new discovery could be made in writings so well understood and so thoroughly examined before them, they formed their decision upon the same grounds, which the reformers had already produced to give credit to their new interpretation.

These examples and these grounds or reasons shall all be discussed in their turns : and in order that you may judge more correctly of the former, we will here produce some principles admitted by all parties. According to the rules of language there are some things established by use, as signs : there are others on the contrary which are not, and which cannot become signs except by a new and primary establishment of them as such. When signs are established by use, we have a right to suppose that they are known as such by those to whom we speak, and if we

^a Amongst the most judicious critics, some are of opinion that Saint Mark himself was the author of this Syriac version, and that he made it for the use of the converted Jews, to whom this language was then natural. Others, among whom is found Walton, the learned bishop of Chester, attribute it to some disciples of the apostles. According to the spirit of the original it should be translated : *This is my body, my own body, which is given for you. This is my blood, my own blood.* (a) For it is also for this reason that the Syriac, which is as ancient as the Greek, and which was done in the time of the apostles, reads, *this is my own body* ; and that in the liturgy of the Greeks it is declared that what is given to us is *the very body of Jesus Christ and his very blood.* Bossuet, *Medit. sur l'Evangile*, 22^e jour.

(a) Proleg. Bibl. Polyglot.

discover any perplexity in their mind, it arises from their being unable to ascertain, not what they are in themselves but what they signify: then, by giving to these signs the names of the things signified, the perplexity ceases, and the meaning of the phrase is clearly understood by every one. Thus, when you shew me a collection of pictures, you say: Do you see this portrait? It is the Prince Regent: or it is the Princess Royal. When you direct my observation to geographical maps, you say to me: This is England: This is Scotland: I perfectly understand you, because I know that pictures and maps are established signs: and my only difficulty was to know what they particularly represented. This is not the case with signs that are newly established for the first time. Not being accustomed to regard the thing you have named to me as a sign, and having been taught to consider it merely according to its natural and essential properties, I cannot understand that which you wish to establish by it, unless you acquaint me with the particular use to which it is destined by you. If you would have me to understand you, you must explain yourself, or let me know that, contrary to the established usage, you have taken it into your head to make a sign of what has hitherto been no such thing. In fact, to return to the portraits and maps we were speaking of, put in my place some uninstructed savage, and in vain would you repeat to him: This is the Regent: This is England: he will understand nothing about it, because, in regard to him, these maps and paintings are signs then for the first time established, which you must explain to him before you make use of them.

The principle naturally applies itself to the point in question. It is plain that before the institution of the Eucharist, it had never been the custom to consider bread as a sign of any thing whatsoever, that it had not been classed among those objects that are ordinarily considered as signs, but in the number of those which are regarded as peculiar and distinct things. Jesus Christ could not employ it to signify his body, unless he then, for the first time, established bread as a sign; and in that case, to make himself understood, to speak according to the rules of language and good sense,

he must have explained his intention to the apostles, who could not have the least suspicion of it ; but this he in no wise did ; or at least he must have previously intimated to them that he should on some future occasion make use of bread to give them a sign of his body ; and we do not find that he ever announced any such thing, but rather quite the contrary. It is certain, therefore, that he could not have intended to establish bread as the mere figure of his body, by these most positive terms, *this is my body*, without a previous admonition or an actual explanation, because it would have been the first establishment of this sign, and we only then give to signs the names of the things signified, when they have already been regarded as signs. He, who was true man, spoke according to the language of other men : He, who was wisdom itself, could no otherwise express himself but in a wise and rational manner ; He, who is truth itself, could never express himself in a manner that was deceitful and calculated to lead into error his disciples, to whom he had said : ‘The time comes when I will no longer speak to you in parables, but openly :’ to whom he then wished to give his last most important instructions : to whom in fine he bequeathed a share in the testament which he instituted for them, on the eve of his separation from them by death.

And if in the course of his ministry Jesus Christ, making use of common metaphors, said to his apostles. *I am the door, I am a vine* ; the minds of men were sufficiently prepared for this, and could have found no difficulty but in discovering the immediate purpose, for which he had employed these figurative expressions. It is surprising that any one should have pretended to discover in these expressions any resemblance with the words of the institution, and conclude from these two metaphors that *this is my body* might be explained by *this is the sign of my body*. For 1^o it would be necessary at least to suppose that our Saviour, when he said *I am a door, I am a vine*, meant to say that he was the sign or the figure of a door or of a vine, which is perfectly absurd. When he calls himself a door or a vine, it is not that he is the sign or figure of them, but that he possesses qualities of which a door and a vine presented feeble but sensible

images. There is then no parity between these examples: they are of two very different kinds.

2^o Jesus Christ himself explains what he meant to convey under each of these figures. 'I am the door. By me if a man enter in, he shall be saved: and he shall go in, and go out, and shall find pastures.'^a And in like manner: 'I am the true vine; and my Father is the husbandman. Every branch in me that beareth not fruit, he will take away: and every one that beareth fruit, he will purge it, that it may bring forth more fruit. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, unless it abide in the vine, so neither can you, unless you abide in me.'

3^o But if men will draw comparisons from these and other such examples, they must do it in a different way: and, instead of saying, *Jesus Christ is the door or the vine, God the Father is the vine-dresser*, which presents reasonable and very intelligible metaphors on account of the explanation that accompanies them, they must change the sentences as follows: *This door or this vine is Jesus Christ, this vine-dresser is God the Father*. Then they would have a grammatical resemblance with *this is my body*: but then also, taken in their isolated state and without previous preparations or explanations, as the words *this is my body* are taken, they would be so ridiculous and extravagant that no sensible person would ever advance such propositions.

How often have the ministers brought forward the words of the parable related in St. Matthew,^c *the seed is the word of God, and the field is the world!* And because it would admit of none but a figurative sense, they would infer that the words of this eucharistic institution must also be susceptible of it. And they see not the enormous difference between them! We must therefore place it before their eyes. Who does not know that a parable is a sort of enigma, in which words are employed to convey a meaning different from that which they seem to present, and in which every person seeks for the meaning concealed under the expressions, because he is well aware that there must be one there,

^a St. John, ch. X. v. 9,—^b St. John, ch. XV. v. 1, 2, 3.

^c Ch. XIII.

even before he has discovered it? The apostles having in vain endeavoured to penetrate into it, besought our Saviour to inform them: 'Explain to us, said they, the 'parable of the cockle of the field.' Jesus seeing that all their anxiety was to know the signification of this parable, answered them very naturally: 'He that 'soweth the good seed, is the son of man, and the 'field is the world. And the good seed are the children 'of the kingdom, and the cockle are the children of the 'wicked one, and the enemy that sowed them is the 'devil. But the harvest is the end of the world, and 'the reapers are the angels.' Jesus answered according to the wishes of the apostles: they had asked him merely to know the meaning concealed under the terms which they knew to be but signs, but the signification of which they could not discover. They perfectly understood it, as soon as Jesus Christ had joined to the signs the name of the things signified.

But suppress the parable: imagine Jesus Christ in the open fields with his disciples, and shewing them the reapers at their work. In this case, it is evident that he could not have said to them, *these are angels*, merely to signify that they represented angels. Upon this M. Nicole argues as follows: To say in the explanation of a parable that reapers are angels, is speaking reasonably: but to say out of a parable and when reapers are not considered as signs, but as men, that they are angels, in order to indicate that they represent angels, is a proposition most absurd and contrary to common sense. Now the proposition *this is my body*, taken in the calvinistic sense, is not like the proposition, *these reapers are angels* considered in a parable, but out of a parable. Then it is not like it, except when it must be considered absurd and contrary to common sense.

There is quite as little solidity and analogy in the example of the paschal lamb, become so celebrated by the manner in which Zuinglius affirms that it was revealed to him in a dream, after he had wasted full five years in vainly opposing the real presence. He could not say for certain, whether the spirit which had acquainted him with this example was black or white. Black in my opinion, and most decidedly so: for the absurdity of

his revelation could proceed from nothing else than a spirit of darkness. I expect you will soon be of my opinion on this point. You will see that the example adduced by the nocturnal phantom neither requires nor forms any figure: and that, should we even make a concession of this, no inference could thence be drawn against the natural and simple sense of the words, *this is my body*.

1^o The example is drawn from a chapter of Exodus, where, after having regulated the manner in which the paschal lamb was to be chosen and immolated, and in which the houses were to be sprinkled with its blood, the Lord adds: 'And thus you shall eat it: you shall gird your reins, and you shall have shoes on your feet, holding staves in your hands, and you shall eat in haste: for it is the Phase (that is the passage) of the Lord. And I will pass through the land of Egypt that night and will kill every first born.'^a There is nothing said here to make the lamb the sign of the passover: every thing points to the time when the Lord was to pass. Be ready to go out of Egypt, and equipped for your journey: make haste to eat the paschal lamb, and lose no time, for the Lord is going to pass. Such is the sense that these words naturally present: *for it is the Phase (that is the Passage) of the Lord*. What immediately follows confirms this: 'and I will pass through the land of Egypt that night,' adds the Lord. It was then the moment of his approaching and immediate passage that was indicated by the word, *for it is the passage of the Lord*, which also is given to the Israelites as a motive and a reason for the command given to them that they must keep themselves in readiness to depart and eat in haste. And in fact, the passage of the Lord was to be their signal for departure. Moreover, when Moses speaks of the lamb, he calls it neither passage nor sign of the passage, but the victim of the passage. It is to celebrate this event that the lamb is to be immolated: it is to perpetuate the remembrance of this famous epoch of their deliverance, that they are commanded to sacri-

^a Exodus, ch. XII. v. II.

fice the paschal lamb every year, and to reply to their children when they should ask them the meaning of this sacrifice: 'It is the victim of the passage of the Lord, 'when he passed over the houses of the children of 'Israel in Egypt, striking the Egyptians and saving our 'houses.' After this explanation given us by the sacred text in the same chapter, on what ground would the ministers oblige us to receive a different explanation, and compel us to believe upon their interpretation, that the lamb is the sign of the passage, when the Holy Spirit assures us that it is the victim of the passage? The words objected to us do not refer to the lamb, but to the preparations commanded for their journey and to the quick despatch of their repast. They were all to be equipped for their journey, and eat in haste: and why? because the Lord is going to pass. In all this there is no occasion for sign or figure: every thing is taken literally and is wonderfully clear. There can be conceived no subject for Zuinglius's extravagant triumph in this discovery: it would appear that his black spirit turned his brain, and cast him into a perpetual delirium and absurdity.

2^o And should we even be so indulgent to Zuinglius and his phantom, and also his numerous followers, as to grant that the text in question refers to the lamb, and that we must in consequence explain these words, *it is the passage of the Lord*, by, *it is the sign of the passage of the Lord*, what could they thence infer? Let them keep in mind the general principle, that the name of the thing signified may be given to the sign, when we see in the minds of others that they regard it as a sign, and are only at a loss to understand what it signifies: but that it is never lawful to do so, when there is no reason to suppose this disposition in those to whom we speak. This is the principle: now for the application. God commands them to take a lamb without blemish, a male, and one year old, to keep it four days, to immolate it at the end of the fourth day, to sprinkle with its blood the outsides of the doors, to eat it roasted, to consume it entirely without reserving any thing for the next day, to eat it with bitter herbs, in the dress of travellers, with their reins girt, their shoes on their feet, and staves in their

hands. What is the meaning of this display of strange ceremonies, this detail of extraordinary circumstances? What mean all these preparations? and why is this lamb commanded to be eaten in so mysterious a manner? There was no Israelite but must have put similar questions, and must have found the reply in these words: *it is the passage of the Lord*. If these words were by them applied to the lamb, they must then have understood without difficulty that the lamb was the sign of this passage, because so great a number of strange and most unusual ceremonies had prepared them to regard it as a mysterious and significative object. But the bread had not been regarded as a sign, as an emblematical and mysterious object: no antierior circumstance, no actual explication, no word of our Saviour tended to make the bread, which he held in his hand, be considered, as the matter of which he was going to make a sign. The apostles had clearly understood their master to speak of a particular bread upon some solemn occasion, and no doubt had taken care not to lose the remembrance of it: but this bread which he had promised them, had not been announced either as a sign, or as a figure: it was to be flesh, and flesh that would be meat indeed, flesh that must be eaten to obtain eternal life; in fine, that very flesh which would be also delivered up for the life of the world. It is not likely that with such ideas, and such instructions inprinted on their minds, the apostles, upon hearing these positive words solemnly articulated, *this is my body*, should have imagined that they signified, *this is the sign of my body*. In truth, it is offering too great an insult to the world and to one's self to advance such chinneras as these, and to give them admittance into one's mind: and it is being too blind or too obstinate, not to see and not to acknowledge the essential difference that exists between the examples that they would fain compare together, and not to be feelingly convinced that what renders the figure admissible in that of Exodus, renders it, in that of the Gospel, unadmissable and unreasonable.

Let us pass from the examples to the arguments that our adversaries draw from scripture for the support of their opinion. The most specious, the only one in fact

that deserves to be seriously examined, is that which seems to be favoured by the words, that immediately follow the words of institution. We learn from St. Luke, that our Saviour after having said : *Take and eat, this is my body*, added ; Do this for a commemoration of me. They will have these last words to be an explanation of those that precede : and because, according to our adversaries, the remembrance can only be of things absent, we cannot suppose Jesus Christ to be present in the Eucharist, because, if he were really there, he would not have ordained it as a memorial and in remembrance of his person. You, Sir, as well as myself, must have heard this argument a thousand times ; it is in all the books of your reformed theologians, and in the mouth of the most ordinary laics. Whatever colour and whatever likelihood it may appear to borrow from scripture, you will soon, I trust, judge of it in a different manner, when you have read the following reasons.

1^o It is a fact that none of the fathers, none of the ecclesiastical writers have ever seen in these words the sense which the Calvinists have discovered in them. It is a fact again that none of those who first broached the doctrine of the figurative presence were led to do so by these words, *Do this for a commemoration of me*. Zuinglius, who must have had them a hundred times under his eyes, and who went every-where in search of the figure, was unable to discover it there. He was taught to discover this precious pearl, as he himself calls it, only from the letter of a Dutchman, and to defend it in a way that seemed to him victorious, only by the revelation of a nocturnal phantom. But this figurative sense being once discovered and established, they thought it adviseable, in order to give it consistency, to invent a necessary relation between the words of the institution and those immediately following, regard these latter as the explication of the former, and, by favour of an induction from one to the other, to find the so much desired figure even in the words of Jesus Christ. But what will for ever demonstrate that this combination of connexion and dependance between these words derives its origin from prepossession, and not from the text, is the fact of its remaining so long a time unknown in the world. Indeed

it not only escaped the observation of all the christians during a long succession of ages, but even of the innovators themselves, who had the greatest interest in discovering it: they themselves only adopted it, as an after thought; and it is not by this pretended necessary relation that they arrived at the figure, but from the figurative sense they passed to this new and arbitrary supposition.

2^o If the words, *do this for a commemoration of me*, are necessarily explanatory of the preceding ones, *this is my body*, and if from the reality they lead us to the figure, we must say that our Saviour wished to imitate the wanton jokes of certain persons who begin by announcing something very extraordinary, and conclude by giving it a most simple and natural turn. This way of acting may not be misplaced in company; it may, in our conversations, have its point and agreeableness, by the surprise which it occasions at first, and by the pleasure that it afterwards produces by an unexpected explanation, which draws the minds of our hearers from a perplexity that till then had held them in suspense. But to impute to our Saviour any thing of this kind approaches to blasphemy. This kind of conversation is totally opposite to the Gospel in general, and above all to that imposing gravity which should characterize the last supper, so near his passion, and so filled with thoughts of death: in fine it is totally inconsistent with the well-known character of the God-man, of whom it is not written that he ever was heard to indulge in a joke, or that he was ever even seen to laugh.

3^o If the words *this is my body* convey in their insulated state and of themselves the sense of the reality, and if they are determined to that of the figure merely by the following words, *do this for a commemoration of me*, it follows that these latter are, of absolute necessity, the explanation of the former, and that they must not be separated from one another, for if the latter were suppressed, we should be necessarily obliged to admit the sense of the reality, which, in my present supposition, is that which Jesus Christ wished to exclude by adding: *Do this for a commemoration of me*. It is evident therefore that, in this hypothesis, it cannot be right, without

contradicting the end and design of our Saviour, to relate the first words without the second. And yet St. Matthew and St. Mark, the two first evangelists, and for many years the only ones, passed over the second in silence. They did not deem them necessary: they did not consider them as explanatory of the preceding ones: and therefore they did not discover between them that connexion, that essential dependence, which your friends have since invented.

4^o To come to the bottom of their argument, I observe that it goes upon the principle that a memorial supposes an absence, and that consequently if Jesus Christ were present in the Eucharist, he would not command that they should there bear him in remembrance. Now this principle, specious as it may appear, I hesitate not to pronounce absolutely false. I know that remembrance is generally applied to things absent: you will nevertheless agree with me that it is not opposed to absence, but to forgetfulness, and that it is very proper that we should be admonished to keep in mind what we might forget. Now there are many things present that we are liable to forget, because their presence is not sensible to us, and does not strike our eyes. Do we not forget God and the guardian angels? do we not forget our souls, &c.? The presence of these objects is most certain, but not being sensible, we are but too apt to forget them, and we have sufficient reasons to recall them to our remembrance. Well: the presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist is of this kind; real but not sensible. He might therefore very justly say to us, remember me when you take my body: because being invisible to our senses, his body is only present to our faith.

5^o As for the rest, Sir, I have gone into this detail for no other purpose than to convince you that there is no solidity in these so often refuted arguments, and that they can be supported on no side, the principle falling together with its consequences. You know however that the figurists of all countries place all their reliance upon it, and that this memorial ordained by our Saviour is the ground of their doctrine, the entrenchment where they think they are in safety. Now that you see the weakness of all its parts, would you wish to know the true

and just signification of these words, *do this for a commemoration of me*? it is not difficult to discover it: you must begin by ridding yourself of this essential connexion of which you have so often heard but with which neither Saint Matthew, nor Saint Mark nor any of the bishops or doctors of the Church were acquainted; and which was only taken up as an after-thought by those who renewed the doctrine of the figurative sense. These two passages, *this is my body, do this for a commemoration of me*, are independent of one another, and have each of them a separate, a peculiar and distinct sense. The first gives the reality, the second supposes, rather than destroys it. The one is a proposition declaratory of what is presented—the body of Jesus Christ; the other, a precept as to the spirit and disposition in which we ought to receive it, that is, as we learn from St. Paul, by remembering that he was delivered up and that he suffered for us: ‘For as often as you shall eat this bread, and drink this chalice, you shall shew the death of the Lord.’^a Jesus Christ was desirous that our thoughts and our hearts should be fixed upon his passion, at the time of our receiving his adorable body. Of all the benefits conferred upon us, that which he wishes us to reflect upon the most and to choose by preference, is his death, that is, the pledge of our redemption, the only hope of our salvation, the most heroic act of his love for us, as being the dart best calculated to inflame our souls at the moment of our approaching his sacred table.

Thus, Sir, although a memorial need not suppose absence, it is nevertheless true to say that the object of our remembrance in this great act of religion is not present in the Eucharist: for this object, which the memorial is to bring to our mind, is the death of our Saviour, merely represented to us by the separation of his body under the appearance of bread, and of his blood under that of wine. ‘It might seem that the Eucharist being a memorial of his death ought to be preceded by it. But no, it is for men, whose knowledge and foresight are uncertain, to permit things to happen, before they command others to keep them in remembrance.’^b The command to shew forth

^a I. Cor. ch. XI. v. 26.^b Bossuet.

the death of the Lord, belonging to the very institution of the mystery, there is no doubt that at the first Lord's supper it was complied with by the apostles. They shew forth by the anticipation of one day that passion which all christian ages have since shewn forth by commemoration: and it is most evident that a duty practised by the apostles, in the presence of Jesus Christ living and speaking before them, can never become for us a proof of his absence.

In general all the objection we have just seen, and those lesser ones, which we have suppressed, that we may not stretch out the dissertation into a volume, tend equally to convince us that the Eucharist presents not really the body, but merely the figure of the body. Observe that from all these objections it would result that Jesus Christ must be made to say precisely the contrary to what he did say: for if he has only left us the figure, it follows that what he said was his body is not so, and what he said was his blood is not so, since the sign is not the object itself, but only the representation of it. Therefore, instead of the positive words that came from his mouth *this is my body*, *this is my blood*, he must be made to say, at least equivalently, *this is not my body*, *this is not my blood*; for it is only the figure of them.

Moreover our Saviour knew that the apostles would not speak of figure either in their writings or in their discourses: that upon the faith of their word written and unwritten, the Christians would enter into the sense of the reality: he knew also that in the course of ages a time would come when a great number would rise up against this hitherto universal doctrine: he saw the actual separation that this produced or at least strengthened; he heard the quarrels and disputes which so miserably divide us: he heard some bring forward reason and the senses against his words, maintain that the Eucharistic bread could be nothing but the figure of his body, others, establishing themselves upon these same words, maintain that it was his true and real body: and in spite of this foreknowledge, in spite of the different interpretations he hears given to his expressions, and of all the evils derived from them, he permits that all the sacred writers whom he inspires should always speak of *his body* and never of the figure of his body. Can any

thing be so strange and incomprehensible as this conduct of our Saviour? Where could be his goodness, his justice, and his tenderness for his Church? and would he not have led us himself astray, if these words, *flesh meat indeed, blood drink indeed, blood drink indeed, body, blood of Jesus Christ*, which we read in his Testament, were only to express error, while the words *sign and figure*, which are read no where, were alone to open to us the true sense of the revelation?

I remark another singularity quite as striking in your teachers. One of the principles they are for ever bringing forward, and the one on which the reformation has been erected, is that we cannot be obliged to believe or practise any thing but what is contained in the scriptures or clearly deduced therefrom. We have just seen that there does not exist a single passage in the holy scriptures, which even authorizes the figure, far from demonstrating it: it cannot therefore be deduced from it; much less can it be read there: for the word figure is no where read with the Eucharist. St. John, in the discourse of the promise, always announces a real manducation, flesh to be eaten that was meat indeed, blood to be drunk that was drink indeed, the flesh which was to be delivered, the blood which was to be shed: the three evangelists relating the fulfilment of the promise, speak of the body that is delivered, of the blood that is shed. St. Paul repeats the same words, according to the immediate revelation he had received from our Saviour. The word figure is no where heard: but every thing reechoes with the words, *body of Jesus Christ, blood of Jesus Christ*: it is Jesus Christ whom we receive, his body of which we participate: it is of his body and blood we render ourselves guilty by an unworthy participation. What therefore becomes now of the grand principle of your reformation? and by what forgetfulness, or rather by what a contradiction do your reformers persist so obstinately in rejecting the body and the blood, of which the scripture is always speaking, to admit a sign, a figure, which is no where to be found therein?

Thanks to divine Providence, the doctrine of the reality has been preserved and always defended in the most

considerable society of protestantism. Luther, which it acknowledges as its head, and from whom it boasts to derive its name, never shewed to greater advantage the strength of mind and vehemence of language which he joined to a turbulent and impetuous temper, than in the defence of the literal sense against the new sacramentarians. He could not help paying a tribute of honor to himself on this score, with a modesty of which you shall be the judge: ‘The papists themselves are obliged to give me the praise of having defended better than they the doctrine of the literal sense. And I am certain were they all melted up together, they would not be able to support it as forcibly as I do.’^a Luther was mistaken, as we shall see in the following article: it is certain, however, that he remained constantly attached to the literal sense, and that the sacramentarians, unable to soften the inflexibility of his principles, have often been constrained to come nearer to them and to affect his language in the agreements they attempted to make with him at Wittemberg and at Smalkald.^b

^a Ap. Hosp. epist. Luth. ad an 1534.

^b These agreements, in which sincerity had less to do than policy, could not be of long duration, and Luther again commenced with increased fury his old abusive attacks upon them. He treated them in his *Short Confession of Faith* ‘as fools, blasphemers, a worthless tribe, damned wretches, for whom it was not lawful to pray.’ He there protested that ‘he would have no communication with them either by letter, by words, or by works, if they did not acknowledge that the Eucharistic bread was the true natural body of our Lord. . . . It is as different to me (said he again,) whether I am praised or blamed by the frantic Zuinglians or other such people, as it is to be praised or blamed by the Turk, the Pope, or by all the devils: for being near unto death, I am desirous of carrying this glory and this testimony to the tribunal of Jesus Christ, that I have with my whole heart condemned Carlostadius, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, and other fanatical enemies of the sacrament, together with all their disciples who are at Zurich: and every day in our discourses do we condemn their heresy full of blasphemies and impostures.’ Upon this the Swiss warmly retorted. They issued out against him a manifesto, in which they told him in plain terms, ‘that he was nothing but an old fool: that men must be as mad as himself to endure his angry effusions; that he dishonoured his old age: that he rendered

But I will now present you with a confession of faith that shall exceedingly surprise you : you are about to hear the Calvinists express themselves as forcibly as the Lutherans and the Catholics on the real presence : and one might take them to be zealous defenders of it, if we knew nothing of their variations. Beza and Farel,^a were charged by the reformed Churches of France to carry it to Worms, where the states of the confession of Augsburg were assembled. It is there said, 'that in the Lord's Supper are received not only the benefits of Jesus Christ, but his substance even and his own flesh : that the body of the Son of God is not proposed to use in it in figure only and by signification symbolically as a memorial of Jesus Christ absent, but that he is truly and really made present with the symbols, which are not simple signs. And if we add (said they), that the manner in which this body is given to us is symbolical and sacramental, it is not that it is merely figurative, but because, under the species of visible things, God offers us, gives us, and makes present for us, together with the symbols, that which is there signified to us. This we say, in order that it may appear that we retain in the Lord's Supper the presence of the true body and blood of Jesus Christ, and that if there remain any dispute, it will no longer refer to any thing but the manner.' Let people hold to this declaration, and disputes would easily be terminated. But why should I thus accumulate foreign authorities, while I can shew the same doctrines to have been supported in your country, by the most distinguished members of your Church, particularly in the reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles, I. ? ' You and I,' said Bishop Ridley, in the reign of Edward VI. to the catho-

'himself contemptible' by his violent conduct : and that he ought 'to be ashamed to fill his books with so much abusive language and so many devils.' Indeed Luther had taken care to put the devil within and without, above and below, before and behind the Zuinglians, by inventing new phrases to penetrate them with demons, and repeating this odious word till men were filled with horror, as Bossuet observes on this passage.

^a Hospine. ad an. 1557.

^b Ridley's Confession, as related in the Acts and Monuments of John Fox, p. 159, &c.

lies, 'agree in this, that in the sacrament is the very true 'and *natural* body and blood of *Jesus Christ*, even that 'which was born of the Virgin Mary, which ascended in- 'to heaven, which sits on the right hand of God the Fa- 'ther, &c. we only differ in the way and manner of be- 'ing there.'

Hooker, in his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, says that they, who in his time, held different opinions respecting the sacrament, were still found to accord in one; for 'They grant ' (says he), that these holy mysteries received in due 'manner, do instrumentally both make us partakers of 'the grace of that body and blood, which were given 'for the life of the world; and besides also impart unto 'us, even in a true and real, though mystical manner, 'the very person of our Lord himself, whole perfect, and 'entire.'^a

'We believe, no less than you, in a true presence,' said James I. and Bishop Andrews.^b

The same was said by Casaubon in his letter written by order of the King to the Cardinal du Peron.

We will now hear Bishop Montague on this subject. The contents of Chapter XXX. of his appeal are as follows. 'A *real presence* maintained by us. The difference betwixt us, and the Popish writers is only about 'the *Modus*, the *manner* of Christ's *presence* in the Blessed Sacrament. Agreement likely to be made, but for 'the *factions* and unquiet spirits on both sides. Beati 'Pacifici.' In the body of the chapter is the following passage. 'Concerning this point I said, and say so still, 'that if men were disposed, as they ought, unto peace, 'there need be no difference. And I added a reason, 'which I repeat again here; the disagreement is only in ' *De modo præsentix* (the manner of the presence.) 'The 'thing is yielded to on either side, that there is in the 'holy Eucharist a real presence.'^c

Another of your Bishops exclaims^d: 'God forbid, we 'should deny, that the flesh and blood of Christ, are tru-

Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*. Book V. sec. 67. p. 360. London. 1617. ^b Resp. ad. Apol. Card. Bellarm. c. II. p. II.

^c An Appeal to Cæsar, ch. XXX. p. 288, 289. London, 1623.

^d Bishop Bilson.

‘ly present, and truly received of the faithful at the
 ‘Lord’s table. It is the doctrine that we teach others,
 ‘and comfort ourselves withal.’

‘In the explication of this question and the manner of
 ‘the real presence it is much insisted upon, that it be in-
 ‘quired, whether, when we say that we believe Christ’s
 ‘body to be *really* in the Sacrament, we mean *that body,*
 ‘*that flesh that was born of the Virgin Mary,* that was
 ‘crucified, dead and buried. I answer that I know none
 ‘else that he had or hath : there is but one body of Christ
 ‘natural and glorified : but he that says that body is glo-
 ‘rified which was crucified says it is the same body, but
 ‘not after the same manner : and so it is in the Sacra-
 ‘ment : we eat and drink the body and blood of Christ
 ‘that was broken and poured forth : for there is no other
 ‘body, no other blood of Christ : but though it is the
 ‘same we eat and drink, yet it is in another manner’...
 ‘They that do not confess the Eucharist to be the flesh of
 ‘our Saviour, which flesh suffered for us, let them be an-
 ‘athema : for sure it is, as sure as Christ is true.’^b

‘The doctrine of those Protestants seems most safe,
 ‘and true, who are of opinion, may most firmly believe,
 ‘the body and blood of Christ to be truly and really, and
 ‘substantially present in the Eucharist, and to be receiv-
 ‘ed by the faithful ; but that the manner of his being
 ‘there, is incomprehensible in respect to human reason,
 ‘and ineffable ; is known to God, and not revealed in
 ‘the Scriptures.’^c

‘Of the real presence of the body and blood of Christ
 ‘in the Eucharist none of the Protestant Churches enter-
 ‘tain a doubt.’^d In pages 10 and 11 he cites the pas-
 sage adduced above of Andrews, Bishop of Winchester,
 and also asserts that Bishop Poinet one of his successors
 clearly shews in his *Dialecticon*, *that the Eucharist is not*
merely the figure of our Lord’s body but also contains its
true and real nature and substance, he then quotes these
 words of Antonius de Dominis ; ‘I have no doubt that all,

^a Bishop Taylor on the real presence, in his ‘Collection of
 Polemical Discourses New and Old.’ p. 185, 186. Third edit.
 London, 1674. ^b *Ib.* p. 256. ^c Forbes De Eucharistiâ, L. I. c.
 1. sec. 7. ^d Cosin *Hist. Trans.* cap. II. par. I. p. 6. London,
 1675.

‘ who believe the gospel will acknowledge that in the holy communion we receive the true, real and substantial nature of Christ.’^a Cosin adduces also the testimony of the Saxon confession and of the Synod of Sandomir, and even that of Bucer, who said that ‘ the true body and true blood of Christ *are exhibited and received together with the visible signs of bread and wine.*’

Read also again the little Catechism that your Church requires to be learned by those whom she is preparing for confirmation : when asked ; ‘ What is the inward part or thing signified ?’ it is replied : ‘ The body and blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord’s Supper.’

Not to mention the learned Jeremy Collier, who lost his situation for refusing to take the test oath and who published his reason for his refusal : nor Samuel Parker, bishop of Oxford, who would have procured the abrogation of the test act if the people of his time could have understood and tasted the truth, that he developed with as much strength as erudition: the two bishops whose learning and reputation procured for them the honour of being consulted by the Duchess of York before her conversion, gave her clearly enough to understand that they themselves recognised the presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist.^b In fine, Sir, after all the proofs I have just laid before you in this letter, what ought to surprise you is, not the reckoning amongst your able theologians zealous defenders of the real presence, but the finding that there are afterwards to be discovered so many others who have rejected and combated a mystery, so positively and so certainly revealed in the scriptures, and against which there cannot be reasonably brought a single passage of the sacred books. You are now in a condition to judge of it by our answers to their difficulties, and the proofs that will be eternally established in favour of the real presence, both by the words of the promise and of the institution.

^a Anton. de Dom. De Rep. Eccles. L. V. cap. VI. No. 169.

^bSee the Declaration of the Duchess of York.

Transubstantiation.

We have shewn, against the reformed Zuinglians, Calvinists or Anglicans, that a figurative sense cannot be given to the words, *this is my body*. We are now going to shew against the Lutherans, that the literal sense that must there be admitted, and which they admit with us, necessarily conducts to the dogma of transubstantiation. This word, which is not in scripture, but which the Church has adopted to give its doctrine with more precision, expresses the change of the substance of bread into the substance of the body of Jesus Christ. Now the literal sense most necessarily supposes this change. In fact, what our Saviour blesses and distributes to his apostles, he assures them, when giving it to them, that it is his body. Before, it was visibly bread and nothing else : actually, after his assertion, it is his body. A change therefore, has taken place ; for no substance whatever can at one and the same time remain what it is, and become another, because then it would be and would not be itself at the same time : it would be itself, having remained what it was : it would not be itself, having become something else, which is evidently absurd.

Will it be said, with Luther, that the bread having undergone no change, the body is come to be joined, or united to it ? In that case, the words of our Saviour are changed ; and his proposition amounts to one or other of these two, *this is at once bread and my body*, or *this bread is also my body*. The literal sense of the words is manifestly abandoned by explaining them in this manner, or rather the words are not explained at all, but others are substituted in their place. Who in fact does not see that, *this is my body*, and *this bread is also my body*, are two different propositions ? Moreover this latter is in every respect opposed to the grammatical expression of the phrase. Our Saviour did not say, *this bread*, but *this*, employing an indefinite term, a demonstrative neuter pronoun, which interpreters render by *hoc*. Now the neuter pronoun cannot refer to bread, which is of another gender ; it must then refer to the body, or be taken in general to denote indistinctly the object that our Saviour was holding in his hand : and then the literal sense is,

this, that is to say what I hold in my hand, *is my body*, but in no wise *this bread is my body*. The rules of grammar could not permit it, neither does good sense admit of it: for bread, remaining such, cannot be the body: it is one or the other, but not both one and the other at once: there is therefore necessarily a change of the bread into the body, that these words, *this is my body*, may be found true to the letter. Again, the words of institution are explicit on the subject: 'He took bread, says St. Paul,^a and giving thanks broke and said: '*Take ye and eat, this is my body, which shall be delivered for you;*' and St. Matthew:^b 'Drink ye all of this, for this is my blood of the new Testament which shall be shed for you.'^c Jesus Christ gives to his apostles the body *which was going to be delivered*, the blood, *which was going to be shed*: and most certainly there was no mixture of bread in the body that was going to be delivered.

The Calvinists have perceived this as well as ourselves. They have felt the necessity of a change in the bread: but this change, according to them, is not real, it is only moral. For them, from ordinary aliment, the bread becomes the figure of the body, and the words signify, *this is the figure of my body*. This opinion is absolutely inadmissible, as we have proved in the first part, and the Lutherans join with us in shewing them that they must absolutely adhere to the literal sense. In their turn the Calvinists here unite with us against the Lutherans, and demonstrate to them that their defending the literal sense

^a I. Corinth. ch. XI. v. 21. ^b Ch. XXVI. v. 26, 27.

^c These words addressed exclusively to the apostles and their successors, could never establish for all the faithful the divine precept of communion under both kinds. It might be collected more speciously from the VI. chapter of St John. But ¹⁰ when we have proved that Jesus Christ is entirely under each kind, we receive him entirely under that of bread: and then it is true to say: 'Unless you eat my flesh and drink my blood you shall not have life eternal in you;' for in eating the body, we drink also the blood. ²⁰ Jesus Christ seems to inform us of this in this very discourse. He says, verse 52: 'If any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever;' and verse 59, 'he that eateth this bread shall live for ever;' where we see the promise of eternal life attached to the manducation of bread alone, that is of the body.

must lead them to transubstantiation, and to acknowledge that dogma of the Catholic Church. As they borrow from her the arguments they employ against the Lutherans on this question, I will press them into my service for the purpose of laying those arguments before you. Our proofs may perhaps appear stronger to you when coming from their mouths. At least, by bringing them on the stage one after another, you will find it more singular and striking to hear the Calvinists prove to the Lutherans the Catholic dogma.

Let us produce first the great enemy of the real presence. Zuinglius speaks out plainly upon this point in his reply to Billicanus: 'Certainly (says he)^a if we take the word *is* in its literal signification, those who follow the Pope are right, and we must believe that the bread is flesh.' That is to say, according to Zuinglius, the simple and literal sense of these words, *this is my body*, necessarily includes transubstantiation. He has recourse to the same argument in his treatise on the Lord's Supper,^b 'If we explain without figure the word *is*, in the sentence *this is my body*, it is impossible that the substance of bread should not be changed into the substance of the body of Jesus Christ, and that, thus what before was bread is no longer bread. *Fieri nequit quin panis substantia in sipam carnis substantiam convertatur. Panis ergo amplius non est, qui antea panis erat.*' He expresses himself moreover in the same manner, in a work against Luther: 'If the word *this* marks the bread, and no figure can be tolerated in these words, it follows that the bread becomes the body of Jesus Christ, and that what was bread, on a sudden is made the body of Jesus Christ. *Jam panis transit in corpus Christi, et est corpus subito, quod jam panis erat.*'^c He had said to him a little before: 'If you obstinately persist in not receiving the figure, it follows that the Pope is right in saying that the bread is changed into the body of Jesus Christ.'

Beza maintains against the Lutherans in the conference of Monbelliard, that of the two explications which confine themselves to the literal sense 'that of the catholics departs less from the words of institution, if they

^a Fol. 261. ^b Fol. 275 ^c *Exeg* against Luther, p. 336.

‘are to be expounded word for word.’^a And he proves it thus: ‘the advocates for transubstantiation say, that, ‘by virtue of these divine words, what before was bread, ‘having changed its substance, becomes instantly the very body of Jesus Christ, in order that the proposition ‘*this is my body* may thus be correct: whereas the exposition of the advocates for consubstantiation saying ‘that the words *this is my body*, signify my body is essentially, *within, with, or under this bread*, does not ‘declare what the bread has become, nor what it is that ‘is the body, but merely where the body is.’ This proof is striking and decisive. For Jesus Christ, when he says *this is my body*, declares that such an object is his body, whereas in Luther’s explication he declares where his body is, within, with, or under the bread; but in no wise what his body is. ‘It is clear (observes Bossuet on this ‘passage) that Jesus Christ having taken bread to make ‘something of it, was bound to declare to us what it was ‘he wished to make it: and it is not less evident that this ‘bread became what the Almighty wished it to be made. ‘Now these words shew that he wished to make it his body, in whatever manner it may be understood: because ‘he said *this is my body*. If then this bread did not become his body in figure, it became so in effect: and we ‘must necessarily admit either the change in figure or ‘the change in substance. Thus by merely attending ‘with simplicity to the word of Jesus Christ, we must ‘pass to the doctrine of the Church; and Beza is right in ‘saying that it has fewer inconveniences, as far as relates ‘to the manner of speaking, than that of the Lutherans, ‘that is, the literal sense is better preserved by it.’^b

Hospinian every where makes the same acknowledgment, as when he says, in refuting a work of Luther’s: ‘If we must exclude all figure from the words of Jesus Christ, the opinion of those who follow the Pope is correct.’^c The same author, as well as other defenders of the figurative sense, remark with much correctness against Luther, that Jesus Christ did not say *my body is here, or my body is under this and with this*; or, this contains

^a *Conférences de Mon'obel*, Geneva, 1587, p. 52.

^b *History of the Variations*, Book II. No. 32.—^c Fol. 49,

my body ; but simply, *this is my body*. Whence it follows that he in no wise wished to give his disciples a substance which contains or accompanies his body, but his body without mixture of any foreign substance.

Calvin frequently insists upon this same truth ;^a but not to dwell too long upon particular authorities, let us listen to an entire synod of Zuinglius : that of Czeuger in Poland, related in the Geneva collection. This synod demonstrates that the consubstantiation of the Lutherans is indefensible, ‘because, says the synod, ‘as the rod of Moses could not have become a serpent ‘without transubstantiation, and as the water was not ‘blood in Egypt, nor wine at the marriage feast of Cana ‘without a change : so in like manner the bread of the ‘Lord’s Supper cannot be substantially the body of Jesus ‘Christ, if not changed into his flesh, by losing the form ‘and the substance of bread.’^b Let us say with Bossuet,^c that good sense dictated this decision. In fact, the bread remaining such, can no more be the body of our Saviour, than the rod, remaining a rod, could be a serpent, or than the water remaining water could be blood in Egypt, and wine at the marriage-feast of Cana.

Moreover, it is worthy of remark, that in spite of the bitterness and vehemence of Luther and his followers against transubstantiation, they did not entertain so terrible an idea of it in the beginning. The simplicity of the words, which has always induced them to preserve the dogma of the real presence, for a long time kept them in the belief of the change of substance.

Luther commenced by teaching it most positively in the following terms ;^d ‘Every action of Christ is an

^a Inst. B. IV. ch. XVII. No. 30.—^b Syn. Czeu. tit. Cœna in Syn. Geneven, part I.—^c Hist. de Variations, liv. II. No. 33.

^d ‘Omnen Christi actionem, nostram esse instructionem, ut ‘ipsemet dixit. Exemplum dedi vobis ut, quemadmodum ego ‘feci vobis ita et vos faciatis. Hoc facite, inquit, in mei memoriam. Quod est, hoc facite ? nonne hoc quod ego molò facio ‘vobiscum ? Quid autem facit ? panem accipit, et verbo quo ‘dicit, hoc est corpus meum, *mutat in corpus suum*, et dat manducandum discipulis.’ Vol II. p. 253. edit. Wittemberg. 1562.”

‘instruction for us, as he himself has told us: I have given you an example that as I have done, so you do also. Do this in commemoration of me, said he. What is the meaning of do this? Is it not what I have just been doing, with you? But what does he do? he takes bread and by this word, *this is my body*, he changes it into his body, and gives it to his disciples to eat.’ But soon after Luther changes his own doctrine, and proposes another quite different, still however leaving his followers to adopt which of the two they pleased.

‘I permit, says he, that each one may hold which opinion he pleases. Let each one know that he is free, without endangering his salvation, to embrace which of the two he pleases.’^a He had so little aversion to the catholic belief upon this change of the substance, that he himself declares that his only reason for rejecting it was because he was so much pressed to receive it.^b He was even content that it should be inserted and clearly drawn out by Melancthon first in the confession of Augsburg, and then in the apology.^c

^a *Capt. de ba.* t. II. edit. lat. sen. fol. 277.

^b We may suppose, without fear of calumny, that his subsequent obstinacy in rejecting the change of the substance, was nearly connected with his design of injuring the Pope and the Church, since he acknowledges that this motive had caused him to wish that it were in his power to get rid of the real presence: we know also of a similar avowal of his on communion under both kinds: ‘If a council were to ordain or permit both kinds, to spite the council we would receive but one, or neither one nor the other.’ Tom. III Jen. germ. 274.

‘And that I may not be taxed with ingratitude to the lessons of my master Henry, I change my sentiments: I *transubstantiate* my opinion, and I say: I formerly declared that it mattered little that people entertained such sentiments on transubstantiation; now that I have seen such splendid and excellent reasons from the champion of the sacraments, it is no longer so. I pronounce him to be impious and a blasphemer whosoever admits a change in the bread: and him catholic and pious, whosoever says, with Paul: The bread that we break is the body of Jesus Christ. Anathema to him that shall say otherwise or who shall attempt to change an iota, a syllable. (a)’

(a) Luther *against Henry King of England.* om. II edit. de Witt. an 1546, p. 367.

Here is a literal translation of the 10th article of the Confession, such as it was presented to the Diet. 'Concerning the Lord's supper, we teach that the true body and blood of Jesus Christ are truly present under the *species* of bread and wine : that they are distributed and received : for this reason we condemn the opposite doctrine.'^a

A year after this authentic confession had been presented at Augsburg, Melancthon found himself obliged to write a defence of it, which was equally approved and signed by all the Lutheran states.^b In it he still more clearly establishes the change of the substance, in these words ; ' We find that not only the Roman Church maintains the corporal presence of Jesus Christ, but that the Greek Church also maintains it at the present day, and has maintained it in ancient times. This we may discover from their canon of the mass, in which the Priest publicly prays that the bread may be changed and may become the body of Jesus Christ. And Vulgarius, an esteemed author, clearly says that the bread is not a figure only, but that it is changed into flesh.' These two passages extracted from two acts, solemnly approved of by all the party, evidently shew that the Lutherans, commenced by admitting transubstantiation in expressions, and even by going so far as to condemn the contrary doctrine. We know that Melancthon was then seeking to draw the principles of reform near to those of the Church, and to present to the deist as much conformity as possible between the two. Perhaps people may now feel disposed to call in question the authenticity of these two passages : I grant that the first was notably altered, ten years after the first edition of the Confession of faith, and that the second has been totally retrenched in later editions of the Apology. It will therefore be necessary to say a few words by way of establishing the authenticity of them both.

1^o Count de Kollonitch bishop of Winstadt, reprinted three German copies of the Confession of Augsburg, taken from the imperial library at Vienna. These three

^a *Confess. Augus.*, 1530. ^b *Apol: Conf. Aug. Aut.* 4 de sac. in Explicat. 10 art.

copies, although printed at different times, and differing in many parts, are word for word the same upon the 10th article, of which I have given the literal translation.^a

2^o The conformity of this compilation with the passage in the defence renders its authenticity more probable, if it be true that the passage of the defence is itself authentic: and we shall see lower down that the Lutherans grant it to be so.

3^o It is certain from Sleiden^b and Melanchton, as well as from Chytræus^c and Celestine^d in their histories of the confession of Augsburgh, that the catholics made no objection to the 10th article, in their refutation of the confession, produced by order of Charles V. Now it is not less certain that they would have opposed it, if instead of the articles mentioned above, most conformable to our dogma, they had discovered the one so contradictory, that was afterwards substituted in these words, 'That in the Lord's Supper the body and the blood of Jesus Christ are given to us *with* the bread and wine.'

4^o Hospinian, a celebrated minister, maintains that this confession must be the original, because it is the one found in the edition of 1530, published at Wittemberg, the cradle of Lutheranism, and the usual abode of Luther and Melanchton. He says that the article was afterwards changed, on account of its favouring transubstantiation too much, by specifying that the body and blood are received, not with the substance, but under the species of the bread and wine. Schlussenburg, a Lutheran writer^e makes no difficulty of accusing Melanchton himself of having changed his 10th article of the confession, from the leaning he afterwards discovered towards the opinion of the reformed.

As for the passage from the Apology, it was so intimately connected with that of the confession, that it could no longer subsist after the essential alteration which the

I read this fact in the controversial letters containing the motives that determined his Highness Prince Frederic, count-palatine, duke of Bavaria, to become a Catholic, by Father Francis Seerdorff who asserts that he wrote with the three copies before him.—Manheim, 1749, vol. II. p. 100.

^b Sleid. *Confess.* ad art. 10. ^c Chytræus, *Hist. conf. Aug.*
^d Cel. *Hist. Conf. aug.*, t. III. ^e Lib. II, *Theol. Calv.* art. 10.

other had undergone. Consequently they got a new edition of the Apology to be published by the same printer,^a and instead of taking the pains to change the article, they suppressed it entirely. The discovery of this fraud produced many complaints, to which it was coldly replied that the article was not worth preserving. Heshusius disapproved of conduct so dishonest, and declared that he would have preferred to have had the error publicly confuted, rather than have given occasion to most unfavourable impressions, by suppressing it with secrecy and fraud.^b

Grotius, who so well understood the spirit of Protestantism, expresses himself as follows: ‘It is incontestable that according to the Fathers, and a great number of Protestants, with the signs is presented to us the thing itself (in the Eucharist), but in a manner imperceptible to our senses. Thus taught Bucer and others. To speak my sentiments on the subject, I think that all our great disputants understand perfectly well what the ancient Church teaches, and what the Greek and Latin Churches still teach: but they pretend to know nothing of it, that they may have subject for declamation before those who are led more by the senses of the body than by those of the mind.’^c

Molanus, the learned Abbé of Lokkum, in the project for the reunion of the Catholics and Protestants of the confession of Augsburg, speaks in the manner following: ‘Drejerus, Professor at Koningsberg, admits here, in a certain sense, a substantial change. I would not vouch for this doctrine; but I should think that I said nothing contrary to the analogy of faith, by supposing that by the words of institution, there is produced in the Lord’s Supper, or in the consecration a certain mysterious change, in which is verified, in an undiscoverable manner, this proposition, so common in the Fathers, *the bread is the body of Jesus Christ*. The catholics must then be entreated, without entering upon the question of the manner in which the change of the bread and wine in the Eucharist is effected, to be satisfied with

^a Valent. Eritræus in tab. *august. confess.* ^b In commentariolo de *præs. Christi in cæna.* *Votum pro pace*, p. 51.

‘saying with us (and assuredly they would be satisfied
 ‘with it that this manner is incomprehensible and inex-
 ‘plicable : and yet such, as that by a secret and admira-
 ‘ble change of the bread it becomes the body of Jesus
 ‘Christ: and we must also entreat the Protestants, to
 ‘whom that might appear a novelty, to make no scruple
 ‘in saying, *after the example of the first reformers*, that
 ‘the bread is the body of Jesus Christ, and the wine his
 ‘blood, because these propositions were formerly so uni-
 ‘versal that scarcely can an ancient writer be found who
 ‘has not made use of them.’^a

The same pious and learned Abbè expresses himself
 elsewhere in these terms : ‘I say that the body of Jesus
 ‘Christ is precisely and substantially the same upon the
 ‘altar, as in heaven and upon the cross, but that it is
 ‘there in a different manner. It was on the cross in a
 ‘natural and bloody manner ; it is in heaven in a visible
 ‘and glorious manner ; whereas on the altar it is in an in-
 ‘visible, unbloody and accessible manner : but it is al-
 ‘ways the same body. I acknowledge therefore with the
 ‘Fathers of the eastern and western Churches, the real
 ‘change operated in the Eucharist. expressed by the
 ‘words transmutation, transelementation, transubstantia-
 ‘tion ; which signifies that after the words of our Saviour
 ‘have been pronounced, there is found truly on the altar,
 ‘by virtue of the union with the sensible species, what
 ‘was not there before, I mean the person of Jesus Christ.’^b

Such is the explanation given by a profound theologian
 attached to the confession of Augsburg, who had no in-
 tention of giving offence on the subject of the Eucharist.
 He thought, and with great reason, according to what
 we have brought forward, that the change of the substance
 accorded with the ancient principles of Lutheranism laid
 down at the diet in the solemn confession of its belief.
 Would to God that those who at the present day belong

^a *Œuvres posthumes de Bossuet*, tom. I, p. 95, Edit. in 4^o. Am-
 sterдам, 1763.

^b The result of a conference touching the Eucharist agitated
 between some religions and M. Molanus, abbé of Lökkum. I
 regret that I cannot cite the whole of it at length. Let me re-
 commend you to read the whole of it, in this same volume of
 Bossuet.

to the same communion would regulate their sentiments according to the same principles with the learned and virtuous Molanus ! We might then entertain greater hopes of the union so much to be desired by the upright and well disposed of both parties.

In addition to these favourable sentiments of the Lutherans and Calvinists, we have some testimonies of your own countrymen in our favour. Bishop Forbes acknowledges the possibility of transubstantiation in the following terms ; ‘ There is too much temerity and danger in the assertion of many protestants who refuse to God the power of transubstantiating bread into the body of Christ. Every one allows, it is true, that what implies contradiction cannot be done. But as, no individual person knows with certainty the essence of each thing, and in consequence what does or does not imply contradiction, it is an evident temerity for any one whomsoever to place bounds to the power of God. I approve of the opinion of the theologians of Wittemberg, who are not afraid to avow that God has power to change the bread and wine into the body and blood of Jesus Christ.’

Thorndike allows of the change, and tells us in plain terms that ‘ the elements are really changed from ordinary bread and wine, into the body of Jesus Christ, mysteriously present, as in a sacrament : and this by virtue of the consecration, and in no wise by the faith of the receiver.’^a

Bishop Montague declares ^b that the change is produced by the consecration of the elements. In support of this assertion, he cites passages from St. Cyril of Jerusalem, from the liturgy of St. Basil, from St. Cyprian and St. Ambrose : he translates the expressions employed by these Fathers, by the words *transmutation* and *trans-elementation*. Still after having confessed the change produced by the consecration, after asserting that it was recognised by the primitive Church, he changes sides and concludes by declaring against transubstantiation.^c

^a *Epi. lis* 3, c. V. ^b *Appeal.*, ch. XXXI.

^c From all appearance he would have returned to it. This learned man thought almost in every thing with the Catholic Church, to which, it is said, he would have united himself, if

Samuel Parker, bishop of Oxford, defends and proves it, as follows: 'In the first place then it is evident to all men, that are but ordinarily conversant in ecclesiastical learning, that the ancient Fathers, from age to age asserted the *real* and *substantial* presence in very high and expressive terms. The Greeks stiled it, *METABOLE*, *METARRHIUTHMISIS*, *METASKEUASMOS*, *METAPOIESIS*, *METASTOICHEIOSIS*. And the Latins agreeable with the Greeks, *Conversion*, *Transmutation*, *Transformation*, *Transfiguration*, *Transelementation*, and at length *Transubstantiation*: By all which they expressed nothing more nor less than 'the *real* and *substantial Presence* in the Eucharist.'^a The Bishop of Oxford was well aware that transubstantiation not only supposes the real presence but is actually the foundation of it, since, by virtue of the words, the substance of the body of Jesus Christ could not be found in the Eucharist, unless it had taken the place of the substance of the bread. 'Thus far proceeded the old Church of England, which as it was banished, so it was restored with the crown. But by reason of the interval of twenty years between the rebellion and restitution there arose a new generation of divines that *knew not Joseph*.^b In short, . . . if they own a *real Presence*, we see from the premises how little the controversie is between that and *Transubstantiation*, as it is truly and ingeniously understood by *all the reformed Churches*. If they do not, they disown the doc-

his death which happened in 1641, had not prevented him from executing this resolution. Four years later, the same cause unfortunately upset the same project of a character still more celebrated for his learning and genius. Grotius, on quitting Paris, confided to his learned and worthy friend M. Bignon, that on his return from Sweden, where he was going to settle his affairs, he would give himself exclusively up to the affair of his salvation, and would unite himself to the Catholic Church. He was returning and had already reached Rostock, when he was seized with a sickness which deprived him of life, the Church of a valuable conquest, and the world of a memorable example. The fact is positively asserted by M. Arnould, who had it from M. Bignon himself. We know that Father Petau upon hearing of his death, celebrated mass for the repose of his soul.

^a Bishop Parker's reasons for abrogating the Test. page 13, Oct. 30. an. 1678. printed an. 1688, London. ^b Page 62.

‘trine both of the Church of *England*, and the Church
 ‘*Catholic*, and then if they own only a *figurative Pre-*
 ‘*sence* (and it is plain they own *no other*) they stand con-
 ‘demned of Heresie by almost all the Churches in the
 ‘christian world : and if this be the thing pretended to
 ‘be set up (as it certainly is by the authors and contri-
 ‘vers of it) by renouncing *Transubstantiation*, then the
 ‘result and bottom of the law is under this pretence to
 ‘bring a new *Heresie by law* into the Church of England.^a

You see, Sir, that if the doctrine of the real presence has found in your country a great number of defenders, that of transubstantiation has also had its distinguished advocates. You have seen them among the Lutherans, who in general are now become its declared enemies : moreover, (what indeed you yourself must be convinced of) even at the present day, the persons most attached to the confession of Augsburg and to their first reformers may still, without injury to their principles, enter completely into the catholic doctrine of the Eucharist, after the example of the pious and learned Hanoverian, the Abbe of Lokkum. You have heard the Lutherans prove with us to the Calvinists that it was impossible to admit the figurative sense, and not hold to the literal sense : and the Calvinists, joining us afterwards, in proving like us to the Lutherans that the literal sense ought no less necessarily to conduct them to the change of the substance. Thus you have seen them alternately ranged under the catholic standard, victoriously attacking one another with the arms they borrowed from us, and the Church triumphing in turns from the blows and the defeats they mutually inflicted upon each other.

I will here spare you the detail of the grammatical cavils invented by the Calvinists to authorize the figurative sense against the change of substance. I know what bickering they have borrowed from the rules of grammar, which have been as incorrectly forged as applied by them to each of the words, *this is my body*. I know also that they are not worth the trouble of being refuted, after having been so completely refuted by M. Nicole, with that depth, correctness and clearness which distinguish

that great controvertist.* They easily vanish when brought in contact with the examples, of which the Holy Scripture furnishes us the idea and the subject. Could not Moses have said : *This rod is a serpent, this water is blood?* Could not Jesus Christ, at the marriage feast at Cana, have equally said : *This water is wine?* and when raising to life Lazarus or the only son of the widow of Naim, *this dead person is living?* Would not all these propositions have been true to the letter in spite of the pretended rules of grammar? and would the reformed ever succeed in demonstrating to us their incorrectness, by saying that if it is a rod, it is not really a serpent? if it is water, it is not really blood or wine? if they are dead they are not in reality living? Why persist obstinately in not seeing, and not acknowledging that in the mouth of God, or by his order these propositions operate what they declare? The Almighty commands, and nature instantly obeys. Jesus Christ commands, and the grave gives back its prey, and death releases its victim. He speaks, and the water has changed its substance into that of wine, and the bread its substance into that of his body.^b

But if instead of the bread which we perceive, it is the substance of the body that we must believe, our senses will have deceived us, you will say, and their testimony, on which reposes the certainty of the facts in the Gospel, will then be shaken. No, Sir, our senses do not deceive us here, for they do not pronounce sentence, they simply report; and their report is true in the Eucharist. They tell us that they there find the

* See *Défense de la perpétuité de la Foi*, tom. 1^{er}.

^b 'Who can speak in this manner, except him who holds all things in his hand? who can make himself be believed except him to whom doing and saying is the same thing? My soul, stop here without idle discussion! believe as simply, as firmly as thy Saviour hath spoken, and with as much submission as he shewed authority and power. He desires in faith the same simplicity as he put into his words. *This is my body*; therefore it is his body. *This is my blood*; it is therefore his blood. In the ancient manner of communicating, the Priest said: *the body of Jesus Christ* and the faithful answered *amen*, it is so. All was done, all was said, all was explained in three words, I am silent, I believe, I adore, all is done, all is said.' Bossuet, *medit. sur l'Evang.*, journ. 22^e.

taste, the colour, the appearance of bread, all which is there in effect. It is the mind which, from the report of the senses, judges and pronounces: at the sight of the species it would naturally and with reason conclude, that the substance of bread is also there, if on this particular occasion, it had not been admonished to check its natural propensity and to reform its judgment. After the instructions of Jesus Christ, the apostles must have judged, and all of us after them, not from what they saw, but from what they had heard. This is the exception, it is the only one. Except in this instance, and whenever there is no reason from distance or malady for mistrusting our senses, we ought confidently to rely upon them, remembering that our Saviour has himself appealed to them in testimony of his resurrection. 'See my hands and my feet, that it is I myself; handle me and see: for a spirit has not flesh and bones as you see me to have.'^a

It is high time to bring this long discussion to a conclusion. In concluding it, I entreat the adversaries of the real presence and of the change of the substance, candidly and conscientiously to say, whether it be the text of scripture that induces them to deny either of these dogmas; whether, on the contrary, putting aside every other consideration, the text does not of itself naturally conduct them to it: whether they do not stand in need of exertion or violence to turn it from the proper to the figurative sense: whether they have not, with a view to sanction their supposed metaphor, been obliged to bring all the Bible into requisition, for the purpose of extracting a few examples, which, after all, do not agree with the case in question, and can neither warrant them to take the figurative sense nor save them from the natural energy of the words. They must allow, I am intimately persuaded, they must acknowledge that their repugnance to receive the text in its simplicity proceeds solely from the philosophical consequences it brings after it, which frighten reason: a body existing in many places at the sametime ! the body which suffered, which is in heaven, educed to so small a space

^a Luke XXIV. 39.

in the Eucharist ! bread and wine, according to all appearance, and no such thing in reality ! who can persuade himself of this ? who can believe it ? This is the ground of their infidelity, this is the scandal that determines them against each of these mysteries ; it is better they think, to resist the Scriptures, better to turn aside the sense of the words of Jesus Christ, than to admit the sense, which they present with all its consequences.

For my part, to act with the candour and good faith I wish to see in them, I frankly admit these consequences. I allow that they are impenetrable, and not less alarming to human comprehension : they are so, it is true. But is it less true that Jesus Christ promised that he would give us his flesh to eat, the same flesh that he would deliver for the life of the world, and that this flesh would be meat indeed ? Is it less true that in executing his promise, and presenting the object he held in his hand, he said : *Take, eat, this is my body* ? Is it less true that he had the power to operate what he asserted, and much beyond what we can understand ? Is it less true that he could not wish to mislead us by fallacious expressions, being essentially truth itself ; that with a word he could have made us understand the figure, if he had not wished us to understand the reality ; that his goodness and his justice obliged him to do it, since he knew the disputes, the animosities, and the horrible schism, which the cause of this reality would one day occasion in the Church ? Is it less true that it is much more sure and reasonable to mistrust ourselves than him : to believe in simplicity what he has said to us in so simple a manner, than to heap up difficulties for which, after all, we are no ways responsible ? Is it not wiser to turn away our eyes from them and to fix them upon him who has spoken ? We are guilty if we do not hear and believe him, but we cannot be guilty if we do not understand the whole extent of his discourse ; for he is as infinite in his intelligence as we are circumscribed in ours.* He has made known to us his intention and his

* "They must leave off all their quibbling and disputing, and take whatever they find plainly revealed in the Gospel ; remembering, that though infinite wisdom and goodness can

will by all, that language possesses the most simple, most consistent, and intelligible, so that we cannot be mistaken as to the natural and proper sense which the words present ; all the parts agree together, it is within the reach of all men to judge of them. What is not within their reach, and what never can be so here below, is the following up of the consequences that result from it, explaining the manner in which this reality of the presence is effected, and comprehending by what invisible cause and secret this change of substance is operated. But where has it been learned that we have a right to reject what is easily conceived, because in its train follow obscurities which we cannot penetrate ? Wherefore do we obstinately resist what surpasses our comprehension, and close our eyes to what strikes us ? Why do we wish to give an account to ourselves of that which we know to be impenetrable to our ideas ? Let us not foolishly seek to overleap the boundaries by which we are circumscribed. Let us hold fast to our Saviour : let us rest firmly on his word : and be assured that the appearances of contradiction and impossibilities which confound us now that we see through the veil and the cloud, will vanish from our eyes, the instant we shall contemplate the objects by the light of celestial splendour. Let us wait : we shall, each of us, soon be there : the longest life is very short.

‘ never possibly oblige them to believe any thing that is really absurd and contradictory, or do any thing which is unreasonable ; yet they may be obliged to believe and practise many things, which unconquered prejudice may tell them are absurd and unreasonable, and which they may think to be so, by using themselves to judge of the ways of God too much by human rules and measures.’ Humphrey Ditton, Discourse on the Resurrection. Part I. sect. 4. p. 15. second edit. London : 1714.

LETTER VIII.

Examination of tradition upon the Eucharist.

I HAVE engaged myself, Sir, to justify the decrees of the Church upon the Eucharist, to shew you their conformity with the doctrine revealed by Jesus Christ and transmitted to us in the two-fold deposit of the scriptures and tradition. The first of these you have just been examining, and in it you must have discovered the principal dogmas, which the Church obliges us to believe. The second is now about to be laid open before your eyes, and in it you will see these same dogmas taught at all times, and indubitably deriving their origin from the preaching of the apostles. It is an immense field to pass over; but be not alarmed; the ages, with which above all it will be our business to become well acquainted, are the most ancient. We will confine ourselves to the six first: and by proceeding methodically, we shall avoid the confusion into which we should otherwise be thrown by the quantity of monuments, facts, and passages, which will successively present themselves to us. We will begin by arranging them into two classes, into general and particular proofs. The former will bring us acquainted with the belief of all the Churches of the world at once; the latter will shew us the testimonies separately given by particular teachers in its favour.

First general proof drawn from the discipline of secrecy.

Every person who will pay any attention to the history of the first ages of the Church will be struck with a point of discipline which I propose here to investigate with you, and which regards the inviolable secrecy observed by all the faithful on the sacraments, and especially on that of the altar. Jesus Christ gave it as a precept to his disciples, when he commanded them under figurative expressions, not to give that which is holy to

dogs, nor to cast pearls before swine.^a When he instituted his august sacrament, he would have none but his apostles for witnesses : and we see that after his example the apostles never celebrated but in secrecy. The scripture positively remarks that they met daily in the temple, and there prolonged their prayers, but that they entered into the interior of some private house to partake of the body of the Lord ;^b for this undoubtedly is the signification of the *breaking of bread*, in the style of the new testament : the first enigmatical expression upon the Eucharist that we meet with in antiquity ; an expression moreover, which, while it was well comprehended by the christians, could not be understood by the unbelievers. I know that St. Paul has spoken more openly and I have myself quoted his words : but he was writing to the Corinthians : his letter was addressed and entrusted to the discretion of the clergy of this Church, who read only to the faithful those passages, which were forbidden to those who were not of the number of the faithful. We must say as much for the passage in which St. Ignatius speaks with more clearness of the Eucharist in his epistle to the inhabitants of Smyrna.

In ancient times the sacraments were designated under the general name of *mysteries*, which signifies things hidden. They were administered in private assemblies, after sending out all those who were not initiated. Until the time of the celebration it was permitted to the catechumens, the strangers, and even the unbelievers to remain. They assisted at the prayers, and the lessons that were read from the old testament by *lectors*, from the new, by priest or deacons. They could moreover hear the explanation of the scripture, reserved to the bishops, sometimes, but rarely, delegated by them to a priest. In these homilies or public explanations of the scripture, the preacher was exceedingly cautious not to speak of the *mysteries*, or if his subject obliged him to make allusion to them, he did it with extreme reserve, covering the doctrine under enigmatical terms, that it might not be understood by the catechumens or the pagans. 'We do not speak clearly of the mysteries before the catechu-

^a St. Matth. ch. VII.—^b Acts, ch. II. v. 42, 46.

'mens, said St. Cyril of Jerusalem : but we are often 'constrained to use obscure expressions, in order that, 'making ourselves well understood by the instructed 'faithful, those who are not so may not receive injury 'from it.'^a St. Ambrose says also, 'that if he had 'spoken of the sacraments, it would have been, not to 'instruct them in them, but to make a discovery of them 'by a kind of treachery.'^b Nothing is more common in St. Chrysostom than this manner of speaking: 'The initiated alone know it : the mystics are instructed in it. 'I would wish, says he again, to speak out clearly upon 'baptism ; but I dare not on account of those who are 'not initiated. These persons make the explications of 'these things more difficult to us, by obliging us either 'to speak obscurely or to discover hidden things : and 'notwithstanding, I will explain myself as far as I possibly can, in covert and veiled terms.'^c In the other Fathers, particularly in St. Augustine, we frequently find concealments, phrases and sentences broken off and purposely obscured, on the subject of the Eucharist.

You see clearly, Sir, that this reserve never leaving them when they spoke in public, did not forsake them when they took the pen and composed works to confound heretics, pagans and Jews. If they had divulged the secret in their writings, it would have been as ridiculous as useless to be so scrupulously careful and skillfully discreet in treating the subject in their sermons. Saint Cyril of Alexandria satisfies himself with answering to the objections of Julian the Apostate against Baptism, 'that these mysteries are so profound, and so 'lofty, that they cannot be comprehended but by those 'who have faith : that therefore for fear that by discovering the mysteries to the uninitiated, he should 'offend Jesus Christ, who forbids holy things to be given to dogs, and pearls to be cast before swine, he will not 'undertake to treat of the more profound parts of them.'^d And after having touched somewhat upon it, he adds 'that he would say much more about it, were he not

^aCatech. VI.

^b *Book on the mysteries, for the newly initiated*, ch. I. no. I.
—^c Hom. XL, on the 1st Ep. to the Corinthians.—^d *Contra Julianum*, lib. VII.

‘afraid of being understood by the uninitiated, because, says he, people generally ridicule what they do not understand, and ignorant persons, not even being aware of the weakness of their minds, condemn what they ought most to admire.’ Remark the reserve they imposed upon themselves in the works destined for the public. It is here expressly mentioned, as well as in other fathers: and we have always a right to suppose it, even when it is not announced in express terms. This habit of precaution and silence, so general in the primitive Church, continued up to the commencement of the fifth century, when we see that Innocent I, replying even to a bishop who had consulted him, dares not open himself in writing upon the mysterious part of the Eucharist. ‘As for the rest, says he, which it is not permitted me to write, we shall be able to speak of that by word of mouth, when you shall be here.’^a Hear now in what manner the Abbé Fleury draws out in few words this discipline of secrecy with his usual accuracy and precision. ‘It was customary to keep the sacraments concealed, not only from the unbelievers, but also from the catechumens: and they not only did not celebrate them in their presence, but they dared not even relate to them what passed in them, nor speak even of the nature of the sacrament. They wrote still less about them; and if, in a public discourse, or in a writing which might fall in prophane hands, they were obliged to speak of the Eucharist or of some other mystery, they did it in obscure and enigmatical terms.’

But how then, you will ask me, did the faithful come to the knowledge of them? and what were the occasions on which the bishops openly explained to them the doctrine of the mysteries? When the catechumens had been sufficiently proved and appeared worthy to receive baptism, the favour of which they persevered in soliciting, for it was only conferred upon those who asked for it, they were collected together at the baptismal font, on the eve of Easter or Pentecost, solemn and splendid nights, generally set apart for the regeneration of adults. It was here, before their immersion in the sacred water,

^a Ad Decentium Eugubinum episcopum.

that the bishop explained to them openly and fully the necessity and the effects of the first of the sacraments. On coming out of the baptismal waters, they were conducted, clothed in a white robe, to the assembled faithful, whose number they were from henceforth to augment: the bishop then ascending the pulpit, and drawing away the veil which till then had concealed the mysteries from them, brought them to light before the neophytes; and the instructions upon the institution, upon the nature and effects of the Eucharist, upon the sentiments of lively faith, of piety and love which the participation of these august mysteries required of them, were continued every day of the first week. Such was the general practice of the Churches up to the fifth age, as many monuments of those primitive times testify and suppose.

However true, and conformable this historical account may be with all that we know of antiquity, it has nevertheless been contradicted by Protestants, particularly by Calvinistic teachers. This I must not conceal from you. They have pretended, and you will soon be struck with astonishment at it, that this discipline of secrecy and reserve upon the mysteries, far from coming down from the apostles, was unknown to the three first ages, and only dates its origin from the fourth. These gentlemen have found it suitable and convenient enough to suppose, that the pagans of the three first ages were perfectly acquainted with the doctrine of the Church on the Eucharist, in order to display with greater plausibility a pretended unanswerable objection against the Catholic dogma. But what they have invented against the truth has never been able and never will be able to stand examination. The principle they here suppose is evidently contrary to facts and even to good sense. In effect, how could these gentlemen, with their well known sagacity and talents, imagine, and how can they have the hardihood to attempt to persuade others, that what was generally known during the three first ages, ceased all at once to be known in the fourth? that all the bishops and all the members of every christian society should then have formed the project, and have been able to accomplish it, to remove away in a day from every thing that was not christian, the belief

of the Eucharist, which the day before was unknown to no one? Did ever any one think of attempting to conceal from the world what for centuries had been known over all the earth? If it be a folly to attempt it, it is a less supportable folly to suppose that such a thing was ever undertaken, and above all, undertaken with success? The secrecy so religiously observed in the fourth age, demonstrates therefore from this single fact, that it must have been equally observed in anterior times, and up to the days of the apostles. It is very true that the fourth age, abounding more in monuments of every kind, furnishes us with many more proofs of the discipline of secrecy, than the three first, which were unceasingly agitated by persecutions. Prayer, and good works were then the great occupation, and they had less leisure for writing, when every moment they were expecting to be called forth to answer for their faith, and seal it with their blood.

But, Sir, if the three first ages offer us fewer direct proofs than the succeeding one, they present indirect proofs, which perhaps have still more weight, and which, I doubt not, will excite in you still more interest and admiration for those heroic periods of christianity. In fact, tell me, I pray, if the apostles and their disciples had made no mystery of the Eucharist, if in the three first ages, jews and pagans, unbelievers and catechumens, had known the doctrine and practice of it, would people have ever dreamed of forging, with regard to the celebration of this sacrament, the atrocious calumnies, of which undoubtedly you have heard? Would they have succeeded in gaining credit for them in the world? in raising up all nations against the christian name? in making these nations demand the punishment and death of the christians, whom they abhorred on account of the erroneous notions they had formed of them, as abominable monsters, unworthy to see the day? Ferocious men had invented these horrors: men probably deceived had circulated them. They ran therefore through the provinces of the empire, every where admonishing the world to guard against a new sect of people, who, under the mask of exterior virtues, gave themselves up, in the secrecy of their mysteries, to the most shameful acts of cruelty and debauchery; who slaughtered as they confidently asserted, a new

born infant, covered with flour, preserved the blood to drink, or to dip their bread therein, roasted their palpitating victim, then divided its limbs among them for a repast, and terminated this horrid feast by casting a bit before a dog, which being tied to the lamps, overturned and extinguished them by leaping upon its booty ; that then men, women, fathers and daughters, mothers and sons were all confusedly and indiscriminately jumbled together in the dark. Do not these imputations framed and accredited upon uncertain and confused notions of the body and blood, of which they had heard that the christians participated, do they not, I say, shew, on the one hand the ignorance universally existing among the people, and on the other the impenetrable secrecy observed by the christians on what was believed and practised among them ? And now, Sir, how far back do you think these calumnies, and their bloody consequences may be traced ? As far as the very time of the apostles. We learn from Origen,^a that from the birth of christianity, the jews had spread a report through the world that the christians fed upon the limbs of an immolated babe ; from Tertullian,^b that from the reign of Tiberius, these feasts of Atreus and Thyestes had been again conjured up through hatred and detestation of the christians ; and in fine from Eusebius,^c that Simon and his disciples, Carpocrates, Basilides and Saturninus, were the authors of these atrocities. Simon, having received baptism from Philip the apostle, and participated in the mysteries, had returned to his art-magic and impostures, and by these calumnies, worthy of an apostate, he thought without doubt, that he should either force the christians to renounce their religious observance of secrecy, or make them sink under the weight of this infamous accusation.

If the apostles and their disciples had made no mystery of the Eucharist: if, in the three first ages, Jews and Pagans, unbelievers and catechumens had known its doctrine and practice, why did the philosophers, who wrote at that time, reproach them with the obscurity in which they kept themselves, and from it pretend to justify the accusations which the voice of the whole world raised a-

^a Lib. IV, *contra Celsum*. ^b *Apol.*, cap. XVII. ^c *Hist.*, Lib. IV. c. VII.

gainst them. In like manner, at the entrance of the third century, Cecilius advanced without hesitation, 'that the 'obscurity in which this religion was concealed proved 'the truth of a part of the crimes imputed to it. Why 'this necessity for hiding themselves and concealing their 'worship from the public eye, since men fear not to expose to light what is fair and good?'^a So also at the conclusion of the first age or the commencement of the second, Celsus, the philosopher, frequently referred to the secrecy of the mysteries, and bitterly attacked the affected privacy of christianity, &c.^b

If the apostles and their disciples had made no mystery of the Eucharist, if in the three first ages, Jews and Pagans, unbelievers and catechumens, had been acquainted with its doctrine and practice, what need would there have been to put christians to the torture, in order to extort from them a confession of the crimes imputed to them? And yet Pliny the younger, governor of Bithynia, in the account he gave to Trajan of the christians, says, on occasion of the reports which were circulating in the world about them, 'that he had on that account deemed it the 'more necessary to interrogate on the rack, two women 'who were said to have ministered in their secret assemblies. But I found nothing, adds he, more than an ill 'regulated and excessive superstition.'^c Do we not know moreover from a fragment of Irenæus,^d that in the persecution at Lyons, the Roman magistrates upon the irregular deposition of some slaves, persuaded themselves that the christians actually practised what was laid to their charge, and endeavoured by torments to get an acknowledgment to that effect from Blandina? But this christian slave replied with a freedom full of wisdom; 'How 'should those, who through piety abstain from meats 'otherwise lawful to eat, be capable of doing the things 'you impute to us?' Be pleased to observe this last instance of concealment in the heroic Blandina: we shall soon have occasion to refer to it again. Do we not know also from Eusebius, to whom we are indebted for the admirable letter of the christians of Lyons to those of Asia,

^a In Minutius Felix. ^b In Origen. Pliny's letter to Trajan, in 105. ^c In Oecumenius, year 177.

that Biblis, one of those who had been weak enough to deny their faith, 'was put to the torture that she might be forced to confess the impieties imputed to the christians?' The torments roused her from a profound sleep: 'these transitory pangs made her reflect upon the eternal pains of hell: and how said she, should we eat the flesh of children, we who are not even allowed to eat the blood of beasts? She then confessed herself a christian, and was ranked among the martyrs.'^a Thus the demonstrated ignorance of the Pagans upon the Eucharist restores to the Church a soul, whose overthrow it had for a moment bewailed, and replaces Biblis with honour at the side of the invincible Blandina.

But if our adversaries, after so many convincing proofs, still require some that are direct, with regard to the three first centuries, Tertullian and Origen shall now supply them with proofs most positive. The former, repelling the charges of infanticide and impurities, exclaims; 'Who are they who have told the world these pretended crimes? Would it be those who are accused of them? But how could that be, since it is the common law of all the mysteries to keep them secret? If they themselves did not make the discovery, it must have been strangers that did it. But how could strangers have any knowledge of them, since strangers are kept far away from the sight of the most holy mysteries, and a selection is made of those who are permitted to remain as spectators.'^b If the christians made no difficulty about speaking of the Eucharist, how could Tertullian say, that 'the common law of the mysteries was to keep them secret.' If the Pagans were instructed in them, what right had he to ask, 'How could strangers become acquainted with these things?' In the work he addresses to his wife, he supposes as a fact, that the christians believed themselves bound to secrecy, because he employs it as an argument for deterring her from taking an unbeliever to her second husband. 'For by this means, says he, people

^a The christians at that time and long afterwards, observed the prohibition of eating blood, issued in the old law, and confirmed by the council of the apostles. ^b Apol, cap, VII. second century.

‘fall into the crime of letting the Pagans come to the knowledge of our mysteries. Might not your husband learn, said he, what it is you taste in secret before all nourishment? and if he perceives that it is bread, will he not imagine it to be that which is so much spoken of?’^a

Origen in his noble refutation of the work of Celsus, after saying in answer to his reiterated reproaches of secrecy, that in general the doctrine of the christians was better known than that of the philosophers; ‘It is nevertheless true, he adds, that there are certain points among us, that are not communicated to every one, but this is so far from being peculiar to the christians that it was observed among the philosophers as well as among us. In vain then does Celsus undertake to render odious the secrecy observed by the christians, since he does not even know in what it consists.’^b This passage proves at once that the secret was observed both in the time of Origen and in that of Celsus, who knew not in what it consisted, that is, at the commencement of the third century and at the end of the first. Thus all kinds of proofs conspire to shew the discipline of the secrecy relative to the Eucharist during the four first ages. The fact is acknowledged by all for the fourth: and good sense demonstrates that it could not then have been established, if it had not existed from the very time of the apostles. The calumnies of unbelievers, the attacks of the philosophers, the tortures employed by governors to extort a confession of the pretended crimes, are indirect, but convincing proofs of secrecy, and in addition to this, we have positive testimonies for the first, second and third centuries.^c

I have been anxious to set this historical fact beyond dispute, and invest it with all the certainty you can desire, because the general discipline of secrecy necessarily supposes the universal belief of the five first ages upon the Eucharist, to be such as the catholic Church has always taught: in fact, if, on the one hand, this discipline

^a *To his wife*, B. II. ch. V. ^b *Orig. contra Celsum*, Lib. I.

^c See in the *Appendix* many authorities which establish the discipline of secrecy from the apostles to the commencement of the fifth century.

agrees exactly with our belief respecting the Eucharist, and if, on the other, it should be found irreconcilable with the opinion which the Calvinists have formed of it, it must of strict necessity be concluded that what was concealed in the primitive Church is not what the reformed believe, but what we believe. In those times the concealment was made either of the doctrine of the figurative sense, or of that of the reality ; there is no medium, and it secrecy excludes the first, it necessarily admits of the second. All that remains therefore is to establish the truth of these two propositions ; first that the discipline of secrecy exactly tallies with the catholic sense of the reality ; in the second place that it cannot be reconciled with the calvinistic sense of the figure. I am persuaded that of yourself you will catch the argument before I explain it, so striking does it appear to me.

1^o I maintain that the ancient discipline of secrecy exactly chimes in with our belief upon the Eucharist. It would be superfluous to enter into a long dissertation to shew the incapability of reason to attain to the inaccessible sublimities which are found in the dogma, such as the Church proposes to us and as we believe it. The reformed confess this, since they have made it the cause of their rejecting and attacking it. But in the supposition that the primitive Church believed as we do, what was it to do ? and how must it manage with regard to the unbelievers ? It must before all things, prove to them the certainty of the revelation, convince them, by the miracles of Jesus Christ and by the sublimity of his morality, of the divinity of his mission, and never attempt to confide to them respecting the Eucharist, dogmas so elevated, so alarming to human comprehension, until it had sufficiently prepared their minds and hearts for them : it must have done precisely what it did. If the christians had begun by bringing forward these mysteries, if they had commenced by speaking openly of the real presence of Jesus Christ upon the altar, and of the miraculous change of the substance which follows from it, they would have shocked the senses and the imagination of men, and have driven those from their religion whom they were desirous of attracting to it. What language, in fact, and what a strange doctrine for the Jews and Pagans ! What would not

their senses and the pretended wisdom on which they prided themselves, have suggested against it? Let us judge what would have been said by men who were not christians, by what we are continually hearing from men, who, unfortunately for them, have ceased to be so. It was necessary then for their interest charitably to spare their weakness: it was necessary also for the interest of truth, not to expose it to the raileries of those who were not yet in a state to hear it: and on the supposition that the dogma was then the same as it is for us, it cannot be denied that it was reasonable and even necessary to establish this discipline of secrecy.

And to shew still more evidently the analogy of our actual belief with that of the first ages, I observe, that in supposing an exact parity between them, not only must the greatest secrecy have been then recommended, but it must moreover have been recommended from the two kinds of motives just mentioned, the one relative to the weakness of the persons, or if you please, the ignorance and blindness of the unbelievers, the other, to the dignity and divine institution of the mysteries: in order, that on one side, the unbelievers might not be injured or scandalized, and thus driven away from christianity; and on the other, that the mysteries might not be exposed to the raileries, sarcasms and objections of carnal minds. Now, in point of fact, (and this must strike you,) the discipline of secrecy turned exactly upon these two kinds of motives. They are each of them distinctly pointed out by the Fathers. 'We make use of obscure expressions before the catechumens, said Saint Cyril of Jerusalem, in order that those who are not instructed may not be injured by them.' Now hear the whole synod of Alexandria: 'It is not lawful openly to disclose the mysteries to the uninitiated, lest through ignorance they should ridicule them, and lest the catechumens should happen to be scandalized by an indiscreet curiosity.' Such is the first kind of motives, relative to the state of the unbelievers or catechumens.

You will recollect the reason alleged by Saint Cyril of Alexandria, for his concealment: 'He would have been afraid of being understood by the uninitiated.'

‘cause, said he, people generally ridicule what they do not understand, and ignorant persons, not aware of the weakness of their own minds, despise what they should most of all admire.’ An author, anonymous indeed, but of very high antiquity, since we find him translated by Rufinus in the fourth age, proves that it is extremely difficult to preach to a mixed multitude of persons, and often necessary in their presence to shroud the mysteries in ambiguous terms. ‘For what is amongst us cannot be told indiscriminately to all persons exactly as it is, on account of those who lend a captious and malignant ear. What then must be done by one who addresses a crowd of persons strange and unknown to him? Shall he conceal the truth? But in that case how is he to instruct those who are deserving of instruction? And yet if he display the naked truth before those to whom salvation is a thing of indifference, he is false to him by whom he is sent, and from whom he has received injunction not to cast the pearls of true doctrine before swine and dogs, who would fly in its face with sophisticated arguments, would cover it with the mud of their carnal conceptions, and by their barking, and their disgusting replies would worry to death the preachers of God.’^a Here you see a second series of motives relating to the dignity of the mysteries. You will find both of them set forth in many ecclesiastical writers, such as Tertullian, Zeno, bishop of Verona &c. They are precisely such as they must have been, on the supposition that the real presence or change of substance were then concealed in secrecy. Their fears and anxieties were such as they must certainly have entertained on this hypothesis: their precautions were those that it requires, and they were influenced by all the motives that it commands. The identity of apprehensions, dangers and measures denotes the identity of principles and belief. We have then solid grounds for concluding that it was the real presence together with its change of substance, that all the Churches of the world kept shut up in those times so scrupulously in their bosom. This is disclosed to us by the secrecy it-

^a Lib. XXX. recognit.

self, as well as by the motives of the secrecy, so exactly do they tally with this belief, as you have just seen. I add, for the completion of this moral demonstration, that they tally with this alone; and prove it.

2^d. In fact, what is there I ask, in the Zuinglian opinion requiring to be made so great a secret to pagans and catechumens? According to it, we become united to our Saviour, but only in spirit and by faith: prayers and homage are addressed to Jesus Christ at the right hand of God, but in no-wise upon the altar, from which he is supposed to be as far removed as earth from heaven: they call to mind his death, but without pretending to renew the oblation made by him upon the cross. For this opinion acknowledges neither sacrifice nor victim: it exposes, it is true, and distributes to its followers the bread and wine, but still remaining in effect as our senses perceive them: according to it, every change of substance is a gross error, and adoration an act of idolatry. These ordinary aliments, bread and wine, have here no other excellency than that of having been chosen by Jesus Christ as figures of his body and blood. What fault could the most obstinate Jew or unbeliever find with this? Is it not a common and received custom to leave some pledge of one's self to our friends on quitting them, that thus we may be brought to their recollection during our absence or after death? and is it not a thing quite indifferent whether this or that object be selected to awaken remembrance, warm the heart, and fulfil between absent friends this ministry of reciprocal tenderness? It is even plain that our Saviour, when dying for mankind, had nothing better to select and leave them as a memorial and pledge, than the common aliment of all mankind. In all this you will discover nothing revolting to the mind, nothing calculated to give a shadow of scandal to men and by consequence nothing that required secrecy.

I know that the ministers^a have sometimes taken it into their heads to speak of the great wonders of their Eucharist, and of the incomprehensibilities to be found in it, without the real presence or any change of sub-

^a Calvin. *Authentic. Glan.*

stance. But I also know that they affect this language merely to resemble that of antiquity, and to shew that the passages in which the Fathers enlarge upon the difficulty of believing in the mystery, from its opposition to the senses and to human reason, correspond with their doctrine as well as with ours. But in point of fact, Zuinglius and Beza discovered no mystery at all in the Eucharist: they prided themselves upon the discovery of the figurative sense, because it removed at once the difficulties and the scandal, and rendered the belief simple and easy to every understanding. No other than this is the judgment formed of it by the Zuinglians of your country, as I have often had occasion to learn from their conversation and writings. 'In my judgment,' said a writer well known amongst you, nothing has occasioned the loss of that due reverence, which is owing to the sacraments, so much, as the making more of them than the scripture has done: and representing them as *mysteries*, when they are plain religious actions. The unintelligible part of a sacrament is what the free-thinkers have chiefly made the object of their ridicule: but had the Eucharist been represented, as I have represented it, it could never have been mentioned by infidels with disrespect, at least it would have given them no occasion of treating it with any.'^a

^a Bishop Pearce's second letter, written in 1730, to Doctor Waterland. Works. London 1777, vol. II. p. 452. It may also be found in a note of Dr. Sturges' Reflections on Popery, p. 100.

To one who has reflected upon the texts of the New Testament, upon the doctrine of the apostolic and primitive ages; to one who is not a stranger to the testimonies of the holy Fathers, some of which I shall continue to produce to the end of this dissertation, I know nothing more unchristian and more revolting than this system of the anglican prelate. It strips the Eucharist of all the wonders which our Lord had thrown round it, and with which his first, and faithful servants have at all times believed it to be invested: and boasts to have by this manœuvre removed from what are called men of strong minds, but who are more appropriately called men of weak minds, every pretext for irreverent declamation. With the admirable principles of these conciliating divines, it only remains for them to draw their pen over all the mysteries of religion, be-

Had the primitive Church thought after the fashion of this modern theologian, never would it have had any reason to withhold its altars from the sight of the catechumens and the knowledge of unbelievers. Sheltered from the shafts of ridicule and malice, it might have celebrated its Eucharist with open doors, and have discoursed and written upon it without obscurity or disguise. But how did it act? Precisely contrary, and during full four centuries it rigourously maintained the discipline of secrecy respecting the mysteries, particularly respecting the one of which we speak. Let your Bishop Pearce, and whatever associates he can reckon in the world, acquaint us, if they can, with a plausible reason, for such conduct. There is none: there can be none, according to their ideas of the Eucharist: their opinion and discipline of secrecy cannot go together; they are at eternal variance. All mystery being once removed from the sacrament, the primitive Church had no longer any cause for silence and secrecy.

But what am I saying? She would moreover have been urged by the most pressing motives to make a full explanation of it. Atrocious and abominable actions are publicly laid to her charge, and she does not attempt her justification! though this justification would be easily accomplished, by the simple declaration of her belief and practice. And if a candid explanation of this nature were found to be insufficient for the purpose, why did she not throw open her doors and admit her accusers or their emissaries into her assemblies, and celebrate her religious repast in their presence? Nothing could be more natural than this, on the supposition that she adopted the system of the figurative sense, at which the pagans could take no offence. The declaration published by these witnesses, of what had passed under their own

cause, in good truth, the proud and of course weak wits of the age, employ by preference their sarcasms and abuse against whatever is mysterious in doctrine.

Add this new example to the examples I have already adduced, of the infinite variations and perpetual discord into which the uncontrolled liberty of dogmatising leads the members of your Church, and even the very inmates of its sanctuary, as you see by these three personages.

eyes, would immediately have put an end to the calumnies that had gone abroad to the world.

And, observe, it was not the common people alone among whom such ideas were current : they had reached the highest and the most enlightened classes of society. Numbers took up their pen against the christians, and boasted that they had proved these crimes, on the grounds of their clandestine assemblies and the secrecy of their doctrine. What reply would the christian apologists have to make, on the Zuinglian hypothesis ? Simply, or nearly this : ‘ So far are we from perpetrating the crimes which you lay to our charge, that we take, in our sacred repast, nothing more than a little bread and wine in memory of our divine master ; the bread, as the figure of the body which he delivered, and the wine, as the figure of the blood which he shed for us. He himself, on the eve of his passion, instituted this holy and moving ceremony, commanding us to do it after his departure, in remembrance of his death, and also as a sign of union between us and him : we merely obey his commands.’ But was this satisfactory and natural reply ever given ? Attend and see : ‘ Our accusers, says Justin, themselves commit the crimes of which they accuse us, and they attribute them to their Gods. As for us, as we have no share in them, so we trouble not ourselves about them, having God for the witness of our actions and thoughts. . . . We entreat you that this apology may be rendered public, after you have replied to it as to you may seem fitting, to the end that others, may know what we are, and we may be delivered from the false suspicions, that expose us to punishment. They know not that we condemn the infamies publicly laid to our charge, and that we therefore renounce the gods who committed such enormities, and who require the same from their adorers. If you will grant our request, we shall then lay open our maxims to the world—to convert it, if its conversion is possible.’^a Observe, he does not say ; we will expose our mysteries, we will celebrate before witnesses, we will throw open our doors. This however would have put an end to all calumnies and removed all

^a *Apol. advo. Aurel. an. 117.*

suspicious. On the Zuinglian hypothesis, it is difficult to imagine what could have prevented Justin from publicly making an offer at once so simple and so natural.^a 'If we always remain concealed, replied Tertullian, how have they discovered what we do? and by whom has it been discovered? Assuredly, not by the accused, for it is the common law of all mysteries to keep them secret. It must then have been by strangers. But whence could these know it, since the sacred initiations admit no strangers and reject the profane?' In vain was their clandestine worship objected to them by the pagans: far from denying or renouncing it, Tertullian takes up its justification, and employs it to demonstrate how futile must be the accusations of those who know nothing of the matter. 'Do you really believe it possible,' exclaims Octavius, 'that the tender little body of an infant should be destined to fall beneath our blows, and that we should shed the blood of a new-born babe, almost before it has received the shape of human being. Let him believe it, whose cruelty could accomplish such a deed,.... as for us, we are not permitted to assist at a homicide, nor even to hear it spoken of: so far, indeed, are we from spilling human blood, that we forbid even the blood of animals at our meals.'^b The secrecy of the christians is cruelly misrepresented and aspersed: and yet Octavius does no more than shew that they are incapable of committing the imputed crimes, never discovering what it is that they really do. 'If our accusers be asked,' says Athenagoras, 'whether they

According to the Zuinglian system, again, how are we to conceive that a young christian should ever be reduced to have recourse to the following astonishing proposal, in proof of his ignorance. 'Even one of our brethren, at Alexandria, to convince the world, that in our mysteries there are none of the infamous practices attributed to us, presented a petition to Felix the governor for permission to have surgeon to make a eunuch of him (for it was said that this permission was necessary). Felix gave no reply to this petition and the young man remained unmolested, satisfied with the testimony of his conscience.'—Justin in his *Apology* addressed to Antoninus, 150 years after the birth of Jesus Christ.

^a In Minutius Felix.

‘have seen what they assert of us, they will not have the
 ‘impudence to say they have..... How can those be ac-
 ‘cused of killing and eating men, who, as it is well
 ‘known, cannot endure to behold even the death of one
 ‘executed by law? those who have renounced, as we
 ‘have, the shows of the gladiators and of the beasts, be-
 ‘lieving that there is but little difference between him
 ‘who beholds, and him who commits the murder?’ You
 have seen Origen justifying their profound silence respect-
 ing the mysteries by the example of the philosophers, of
 the Greeks and barbarians; you have seen him in his
 turn reproaching Celsus for reprobating the secret kept
 by the christians, while he knew not in what that secret
 consisted. Such were the replies of the apologists: and
 such also they must have been, to be consistent with our
 belief. But according to the doctrine of the reformation
 these replies become inconceivable and absurd. For is
 it not absurd to establish a secret, and instead of being
 induced by the most powerful reason to break it, still to
 continue obstinately to preserve and justify it, even
 when they knew nothing in it worth concealing?^a

^a Truth obliges me to say that one of these apologists has not
 hesitated to remove the veil and lay open the mystery of the
 altar. Justin has done it in his first apology. We shall endea-
 vour soon to detect his motive for so doing. But as he thought
 proper to act in this manner, we will ask: what did he disco-
 ver? what did he make known? This is a curious and impor-
 tant point to ascertain: for most assuredly the doctrine that he
 discovered was the doctrine of the Church---the precise doc-
 trine so carefully concealed by the other Christians. This dis-
 closure must for ever decide the question between us. Let the
 Reformation triumph, as is just, if the apologist here declares
 in formal or equivalent terms, that the bread and wine blessed
 by the bishop were received by the faithful, merely as signs of
 the body and blood of Jesus Christ, absent in heaven: that the
 bread, without undergoing any change, ceased notwithstanding
 to be regarded as ordinary bread, because it was offered to God
 as an emblematical figure representing his Son. Will Justin
 hold such language as this? Let us hear him with attention;
 these are the words to the point; they are big with interest
 and importance: ‘This food we call the Eucharist, of which
 ‘they alone are allowed to partake, who believe the doctrines
 ‘taught by us, and have been regenerated by water for the re-
 ‘mission of sin, and who live as Christ ordained. For we do
 ‘not take these gifts, as common bread and common drink, but

Again, it is worthy of observation, that the public calamities were frequently attributed to the christians, as

‘as Jesus Christ, our Saviour, made man by the word of God, took flesh and blood for our Salvation; in like manner, we have been taught, that the food which has been blessed by the prayer of the words which he spoke, and by which our flesh and blood, in the change, are nourished, *becomes* the flesh and blood of that Jesus incarnate.’ Such is the doctrine which Justin made no difficulty in revealing to the Emperor: you have here the word of God compared to the prayer of Jesus Christ: the same power and efficacy is attributed to each; by the former, Jesus Christ became man, by the latter, the bread and wine become his body and blood, and this change is not less real than was that of his incarnation. From this springs the following short and decisive argument. Justin here discovers that, which the christians were universally concealing in secrecy. Now what he discovers is the Catholic doctrine, therefore the Catholic doctrine had been universally concealed in secrecy among the christians. Pray, reflect upon this argument; it alone should open your eyes to the system of belief that you are seeking in the primitive Church.

But what motive could induce the apologist to make so public an exposure, contrary to the general discipline of secrecy, to which we find but this single exception recorded in history. To form a correct judgment upon the conduct of Justin, we should thoroughly understand how the writer was circumstanced. For my own part, I should be inclined to consider this first apology as a private memorial presented to the Emperor alone; he probably having called for such a declaration from the christians. The title professing the document to be addressed *to the Emperor, the Senate, and the Roman people*, in no wise deters me from venturing this conjecture, since it was possibly nothing more than the usual form of petitions. In his second apology addressed to Marcus Aurelius and the Senate, he entreats him to publish it, that the world may be enabled to form an opinion upon the christians. We find no such request in the first: from which, we may infer that he neither intended nor desired its publication. As he exposes the great mysteries of religion, which it was forbidden to publish, we are to presume, that he did not apprehend that they would be published, and that his object was, not to divulge the secret, but merely to make a confidential communication of it, to one most deserving of confidence, an excellent Prince, who was considered as a second Socrates upon the throne. The Prince does not appear to have betrayed the confidence reposed in him, for we do not find the pagans any better informed, in consequence of it. Thus the event would have justified the apologist, on the

being an impious and detestable race of men. *Away with the christians to the beasts ; Christianos ad bestias.* This infuriated and brutal cry was very often resounded in the amphitheatres. Long were the christians persecuted by the Emperors; from the savage Nero, who first drew the sword against them, to the time of Diocletian and Licinius.^a They were inhumanly put to death at Rome, accused indeed, but never convicted of setting fire to the city. Tacitus asserts their innocence of this crime, when he says that they perished, the victims of popular hatred and execration, which originated not less in calumnious imputations, than in the refusal of the christians to sacrifice to idols and to swear by the genius of the Emperors. The tribunes and governors of provinces put them to the torture, to force from them an acknowledgment of the crimes imputed to them. To this, Justin^b bears positive testimony, and complains that ‘to establish these calumnies, slaves, children, and women were put to the rack ‘and tortured in the most horrible manner, to extort ‘from them a confession of the incests and the feasting ‘upon human flesh, of which the christians were accused.’ Call to mind the women whom Pliny interroga-

supposition that he confided the secret to Antoninus alone, with the hope, that so just and sensible a prince could terminate the bloody persecutions of the christians, when once he became better acquainted with their real character. Although this expectation was not entirely, it was at least partially, realized. Whether it was that Antoninus did not do all that he could, or, what is perhaps more probable, could not do all that he wished, the persecutions did not entirely cease, and, on his account, we regret to find considerable numbers of martyrs in the subsequent years of his reign. This much however is certain, that he published edicts favourable to the christians. He had received letters from various governors of provinces consulting him on the mode of treatment to be adopted in their regard, to which he replied, that they must not be molested, unless they were discovered plotting against the state. He wrote also to the cities of his empire, prohibiting the christians to be disturbed; and by name, to Larissa, Thessalonica and Athens and to all the Greeks. Of this we are informed by the historians, Rufinus and Eusebius, and also by Melito, bishop of Sardes, in his apology addressed shortly after to Marcus Aurelius.

^a *Primum Neronem casariano gladio ferocisse. Tertul---*

^b *Apol; II.*

ted on the rack after this manner: but, above all, remember the heroic Blandina and her companion Biblis: 'Some pagan slaves in the service of the christians, 'fearing the torments endured by the faithful, and 'instigated by the soldiers, falsely accused the christians 'of Thyestean feasts and incestuous marriages.... and 'of every abomination that decency forbids to mention 'or think upon, and which we cannot even believe men 'capable of committing. These calumnies being spread 'abroad, the popular fury was excited against us: even 'those who had hitherto been somewhat friendly disposed 'towards us, were then filled with the general indignation 'against us. Then was accomplished the prophecy of 'our Saviour, that they, who should put his disciples to 'death, would think that they rendered a service to God. ' Speaking afterwards of Blandina: 'We all of 'us, and particularly her mistress, he says, were apprehensive that she would not have the courage to confess, 'by reason of her bodily weakness. She however wearied out those, who one after the other, tortured her in 'every way, from morning till night. They acknowledged themselves vanquished, not being able to discover 'any other way of tormenting her: and were astonished 'to find her still breathing after the laceration and dislocation of her whole body. . . . The confession of the 'name of christian seemed to invigorate her frame: her refreshment and consolation was to exclaim: I am 'a christian, and no evil is committed amongst us.' St. Irenæus, a contemporary, and an eye witness, mentions that she boldly and judiciously added: How can 'they, who, from motives of religion, abstain from meats 'otherwise lawful, be capable of perpetrating the crime 'which you allege against us?'

I have before observed that, in the Zuinglian opinion, the christians would never have suffered these calumnies to gain ground, but would have instantly upset them, by making a public declaration of all their practices and ceremonies, and by inviting the pagans to attend their assemblies and witness the celebration of their harmless re-

* Letter of the Christians at Lyons to those of Asia, an: 177 under Marcus-Aurelius. Euseb. V. Hist: init.

past. But supposing that this simple means of sheltering their name from infamy was overlooked ; you must allow that it was high time to think of it, when punishment and torture stared them in the face. When Blandina and Biblis were interrogated respecting these pretended abominations, why did they not say : ' We take indeed a little bread and wine in memory and in figure of our absent Saviour, and also as a mark of our union together. ' This is our only repast ; to which you may, if you please, ' yourselves bear ocular testimony ? ' Would they submit to torture and death, when both might be avoided by a declaration at once so natural and so likely to open the eyes of their judges ? Is it consistent with any principle of reason or christianity to maintain an obstinate and unmeaning silence upon that which could innocently be acknowledged, which there was not a shadow of a reason for concealing, and which, had it been but named, would have instantly disabused the minds of the people ? Does not such conduct render a person guilty of permitting the commission of the enormities and murders, which he might so easily have prevented ? Blandina however holds no such language and makes no such disclosure. In the midst of her torments, not a word of that kind escapes her lips. Her constant courageous reply is applauded by the christians for its judiciousness. Zuinglius and his followers would in vain attempt to explain in what the discretion and judgment of the martyr consisted. It can be satisfactorily shewn in the catholic belief alone, in which, for the honor of Christ, and the interest and salvation of the persecutors, the mysteries were not permitted to be divulged. As it was impossible to say any thing that might betray the secret, nothing remained for the accused but modestly to repel the calumny, which was, in fact, admirably done by this illustrious slave. It is truly noble and even more than human, in the midst of protracted and horrible tortures, thus to bear in mind the wise and charitable discipline of secrecy : and the generous sacrifice of Blandina, crowned in heaven, will be a just subject of admiration to the end of time.

Such, Sir, are the observations I had to submit to your attention respecting the discipline of secrecy. I remember well, the first time I discovered it, the greater part

of these same ideas confusedly rushed upon my mind. Since then, it has frequently been to me a subject of serious consideration and deep investigation. I flatter myself that my view of the subject is correct ; and, if I am not mistaken, I have convinced you that it is so. For, on the one hand, it is perfectly unintelligible and inexplicable according to the Zuinglian opinion ; an unmeaning discipline, rigidly enforced and scrupulously practised, without motive or reason, or rather against every motive and every urgent reason. On the other hand, it accords with the catholic doctrine, and even supposes it ; and on the supposition of this belief, is found to be wise, charitable and necessary at the period when religion was proclaimed to a world of unbelievers. In a word, since this general discipline is necessarily interwoven with our belief, and from the fifth century is traced back to the apostolic age, it is most evident, that in these first ages the catholic dogma was both believed and taught in all Churches of the world.

APPENDIX.

DISCIPLINE OF SECRECY DURING THE FIVE FIRST AGES.

FIRST AGE.

Proofs drawn from the ignorance of the pagans respecting the Eucharist.

‘We are traduced as the most wicked of men, as capable of murdering infants and feeding on their flesh, and afterwards of abandoning ourselves to shameful incests, having previously employed some dogs, accomplices in our debaucheries, to upset the lamps and thus give darkness and audacity to our abominations.—The imputation of these crimes is to be dated from the reign of Tiberius, as I have already said. The hatred of truth commenced with truth itself: no sooner did it appear than it became the object of general detestation. It counts as many enemies as strangers, and each according to their own fashion, the Jews by jealousy, the soldiers by exaction, and all of you by nature. (a)

‘One might say that Celsus was desirous of imitating the Jews, who, on the preaching of the Gospel, spread false reports against those who embraced it; that the christians sacrificed a little infant and devoured its flesh in their assemblies; that to perform works of darkness, they put out the lamps, and then each one abandoned himself to his lusts with the first person he met. This most gross calumny for a long time made great impression on the minds of an infinity of persons, who, hav-

(a) Calumnies against the Christians, *Tertul*, Apol. ch. VII.

'ing no intercourse with us, permitted themselves to be persuaded that this portrait of the christians was faithfully drawn: and even to this time there are individuals so prejudiced amongst us that they will not even enter into conversation with a christian.'(a)

Eusebius writes, that 'the devil made use of Carpo-crates, Saturninus and Meander, disciples of Simon, who fell after being baptized by Philip, to seduce many of the faithful: and that by their means, they had furnished to the pagans ample materials for calumniating and blackening the Church: that all the recently invented slanders were circulated by them to the disgrace of the christian name; and by this means has been circulated among the unbelievers an opinion respecting the christians as absurd as it is impious: as if it was our custom to abandon ourselves to shameful incests with our sisters and mothers and feed upon execrable meats.'(b)

Tacitus, speaking of the burning of Rome, says that Nero laid it to 'a people odious by their crimes, who were called Christians.' He adds: 'This name came from Christ, whom Pontius Pilate had put to death under the Emperor Tiberius. And this impious superstition, repressed *for the time*, appeared *again*, not only in Judea, the source of the evil, but in Rome itself, where every thing that is black and infamous is collected together and put in practice. At first those only were taken, who confessed, then a great multitude, upon their report, were convicted, not so much of the burning of the city, as of hatred to all mankind.'(c) He afterwards mentions them as wretches, who deserved the most exemplary punishments.

Pliny, who belonged to the close of the first century, but who did not enter upon the government of Bithynia before the commencement of the second, wrote to the Emperor, (d) on occasion of the rumours spread abroad respecting the christians, 'that he thought it necessary, for coming at the truth, to question two women on the rack, who were said to have waited in the secret assemblies. But I discovered nothing, continued he, more than an ill guided and excessive superstition.'

Celsus an epicurean philosopher living at the close of the first and commencement of the second centuries, composed and published under Adrian, (e) a libel against the

(a) Origen *Against Celsus*, no. 294, B. VI. p. 244, edit. in 40.

(b) Hist. B. IV. ch. VIII.—(c) Annals L. XV.—(d) Trajan Emperor in 98.—(e) Adrian, Trajan's successor in 117.

christians and Jews under the bold and lying title of *A True narrative*. It has not come down to us, and is only known by the splendid refutation of it from the pen of Origen, who exposes and destroys his calumnies, and, among others, those which regarded the secrecy observed by the christians, and on account of which Celsus most bitterly inveighed against them.

SECOND AGE.

'Were we to ask our accusers whether they ever saw what they report of us, there will not be found one, impudent enough to say that he has seen it. How can they accuse those of killing and eating human creatures, who, they are well aware, cannot so much as endure to see a man even justly put to death' (a)

'It will be said to us: Let every one of you destroy yourselves, and thus you will go to your God and disturb us no more.' (b) He replies that their faith in Providence forbade such an action, and he adds that 'to substantiate the calumnies heaped upon the christians, they interrogated slaves, children and women, and put them to excruciating torments to extort from them a confession of the incests and repasts of human flesh, which were laid to the charge of the christians. Those who accuse us of these crimes are themselves the perpetrators of them, while they attribute them to their gods: as for us, as we have nothing to do with such abominations, we do not trouble ourselves about them, having God for the witness of our actions and of our thoughts.'

In the persecution at Lyons, (c) the magistrates, on the deposition of some slaves, persuaded themselves that the christians actually practised what was imputed to them, and they endeavoured, by torments, to extort from Blandina a confession of the deed: but this christian slave boldly and judiciously answered: 'How should those who, from religious motives, abstain from meats otherwise permitted, ever be guilty of the crimes you lay to their charge?' Ecumenius has preserved this fact in a fragment of Irenæus, an eye witness and soon after Bishop of Lyons and successor to Photinus, who, after having passed his ninetieth year, suffered martyrdom in this persecution.

(a) Athenagoras, *Apology to Marcus Aurelius*, 166,---(b) Justin, II *Apology* to the same Emperor, 166,---(c) Under Marcus Aurelius, 177.

To this we may add what is told of the slave Biblis, as we find it related by the confessors and christians of Lyons, in a letter written by them to the Churches of Asia to give an account of the persecutions there raging. We owe the preservation of it to Eusebius.

‘I designedly omit many things, fearing to write what I could wish prudently to conceal, lest those who may read my writings should understand them in a wrong and perverted sense, and we should be accused, according to the proverb, of putting a sword into an infant’s hand. There are certain things discoverable in the holy Scripture, altho’ they are not clearly expressed. There will be others on which it will insist more explicitly: and others again, which it will merely touch upon: but it will endeavour so to veil, as yet to declare them; so to hide, as yet to reveal them; and so to pass them over in silence, as yet to let them appear.’(a)

See page 268 the passage from Tertullian, and page 269 another passage from the same writer.

And, not to omit another passage from Tertullian,(b) attend to the language in which he reproaches certain heretics of his time. ‘Above all, they make no distinction between the catechumens and the faithful; for they are both equally admitted to hear and pray together: even the Pagans are not excluded, should they happen to be present; and thus no difficulty is made in casting bread before dogs, and pearls, though false ones, to swine.’ He had already explained the intention of St. Paul, who, in confiding to Timothy the ministry of the Gospel, had commanded him to choose faithful witnesses, capable of instructing others, and not to open himself to every one indiscriminately, but according to the word of our Saviour, to avoid casting bread to the dogs or pearls before swine.

THIRD AGE.

Hear in what strains the Pagan Cecilius spoke of the christians.(c) ‘A dark and subterraneous people, dumb in public, and speechless but in the most retired corners. Whether all our suspicions respecting them be well founded I know not: certain however it is that a nocturnal and hidden worship well befits such a tribe. And although many things are called against them, the

(a) Clem: Alex. died, 215, *Strom.*,—(b) Book of prescription against heretics.—In Minutius Felix.

‘obscurity alone of their vile religion proves them entirely
‘or in part at least. How are we otherwise to account for
‘this affectation and studied concealment of their worship,
‘whatever it be? For what is virtuous and laudable
‘courts the day, and wickedness loves darkness.’

See at page 277 another passage from Minutius Felix.

‘As for the mysteries, concealed under secrecy, and
‘known to the priests alone, not only is the animal man
‘forbidden to approach, but those also who, although ex-
‘ercised and instructed, have yet not attained to the
‘priestly honour by their merits and years; and not only
‘are they prevented from seeing these objects any other-
‘wise than obscurely and enigmatically, but they do not
‘even receive them unless covered and veiled.’ (a)
This passage must allude to the prayers and words of con-
secration.

And again: ‘As for any other discourse which shall
‘contain secret things and treat of the faith of God and
‘the knowledge of things, . . . that is reserved to the
‘priests alone and confided to the sons of Aaron by a per-
‘petual succession.’ (b)

In another homily of Origen’s, on Leviticus, we find
this passage: ‘Stop not at the blood of the flesh (that is
‘of the sheep and oxen spoken of by Moses) but learn
‘rather to discern the blood of the Word, and hear him
‘saying: For this is my blood, which shall be shed for
‘you. Whosoever is imbued with the mysteries, knows
‘the flesh and blood of the Word of God. Let us not,
‘therefore, dwell upon a subject known to the initiated,
‘and which the uninitiated ought not to know.’ (c) See
also page 268.

Zeno, bishop of Verona, in a sermon on continence, ex-
horts the christian wife not to marry an unbeliever, lest
such a marriage should cause her to betray the law of se-
crecy; *ne sis proditrix legis*. He adds: ‘And know you
‘not that the sacrifice of the unbeliever is public, yours
‘secret? Know you not that any one may approach his
‘without difficulty, whereas it would be a sacrilege for
‘christians themselves, if they are not consecrated, to
‘contemplate yours?’

FOURTH AGE.

‘The time admonishes us now to treat of the mysteries,

(a) Origen, Hom. IV. on Ch. III. of Numbers. (b) Hom. XIII,
on Ch. XXXIII, of Leviticus. (c) Hom. IX, on Lev. t. No. 10.

‘and to explain the notions of the sacraments. But if, before baptism and the initiation, we had attempted to speak on these subjects we should have appeared to betray rather than explain them.’(a)

‘Every mystery ought to remain concealed under faithful silence, for fear that it should be rashly divulged to profane ears.’(b)

‘And we also have a discipline not to divulge *the prayer*, but to keep the mysteries concealed.’(c) An allusion no doubt to the prayer of consecration.

‘There are many things, which, crude, are unpalatable, but, dressed, are agreeable. Concoct, then, in your heart these profound mysteries: let no premature discovery of yours confide them too crudely to delicate or perfidious ears; lest he who hears you may take alarm and turn with disgust from the meat, which, if better prepared, would have enabled him to taste the sweetness of a spiritual nourishment.’(d)

‘The Lord spoke in parables to his hearers in general; but to his disciples he explained in private the parables and comparisons he made use of in public. The splendour of glory is for those who are already enlightened: obscurity and darkness is the portion of unbelievers. Just so, the Church discovers its sacraments to those who leave the class of catechumens: for we declare not to the gentiles the hidden mysteries of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, nor do we speak openly of the mysteries to the catechumens: but we frequently employ obscure expressions, that they may be understood by those, who are already instructed, and that the uninstructed may not be injured by them.’(e)

I now present you with a very curious note which St. Cyril has put to the end of the preface to his *Catechetical Discourses*, in which he is known to have explained, in the clearest manner possible, the doctrine of the Church on the Sacraments, particularly on the Eucharist. They were intended for the instruction of those who were about to receive baptism, and afterwards to participate in the sacrifice and the communion of the altar. The note, addressed to the reader, is conceived in these terms: ‘Procure that these Catechetical discourses be read, by those

(a) St. Ambrose, *Book of the mysteries for the uninitiated*, Ch. I. No. 2—(b) The same, B. I, on *Abraham*, Ch. V. No. 38.—(c) The same, Ch. IX, No. 35. on *Cain and Abel*.—(d) *Ibidem* No. 37.—(e) St. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* VI.

‘for whose instruction they have been composed, viz: by
 ‘those who are approaching the sacrament of baptism,
 ‘and by the faithful who have already received it. But
 ‘do not communicate them to the catechumens and those
 ‘who are not christians. If you do, you will have to an-
 ‘swer to God for it. And if you take a copy of them, do it,
 ‘I conjure you, in the presence of God.’

‘They are not ashamed to celebrate the mysteries
 ‘before the catechumens, and perhaps even before pagans,
 ‘forgetting that it is written that we are to conceal the
 ‘mystery of the king: and regardless of the precept of the
 ‘Lord, that we must not cast holy things to the dogs, or
 ‘pearls before swine. For it is unlawful to lay the mysteries
 ‘open to the uninitiated, lest through ignorance they should
 ‘turn them to ridicule, and lest the catechumens should
 ‘become scandalized through an indiscreet curiosity.’(a)

‘This is what the uninitiated are forbidden to contemp-
 ‘late, and how should it ever be becoming to write and
 ‘circulate an account of them among the people.’(b)

‘The Apostles and the Fathers, who, from the begin-
 ‘ning have presented certain rites to the Church, knew
 ‘how to secure a becoming dignity to the mysteries by
 ‘the secrecy and silence in which they have enveloped
 ‘them.’(c) Here we have this discipline of secrecy and
 silence positively attributed to the apostles by the learned
 prelate.

Saint Epiphanius reproaches the Marcionites of the is-
 land of Cyprus, that they were so rash as to celebrate the
 mysteries before the catechumens.’(d)

St. Gregory Nazianzen (e) says that ‘the greatest part
 ‘of our mysteries ought not to be exposed to strangers.’(f)
 He says further that ‘*men should rather give their blood
 than publish them.*’(g)

‘He who is to receive ordination requests the prayers
 ‘of the faithful; these give him their suffrage and add
 ‘the acclamations known by those initiated in the mys-
 ‘teries, and which I here pass over the silence, for it is
 ‘forbidden to say every thing before the profane... They
 ‘who cannot approach the holy table are withheld and
 ‘banished from the sacred rails’(h)

Gaudentius, bishop of Brescia in Italy, contemporary

(a) Synod of Alexandria, an. 340, speaking of the Meletians
 in the Apology of St. Athanasius.—(b) St. Basil, bishop of
 Cesarea, died in 379.—(c) On the Holy Ghost, Ch. XXVII, No.
 66.—(d) St. Epiph: Hæres. XLII.—(e) Died in 389.—(f) Orat.
 XI.II.—(g) Orat. XXXV —(h) St. Chrysostom, Hom. XVIII, on
 II Cor.

with Cyril of Jerusalem, preaching on Easter night, before the neophytes, on their return from the baptismal fonts, said: 'In the lesson you have just heard, I shall select only those parts which may not be explained in the presence of the catechumens, but which must be discovered to the neophytes.'[a]

Treating again the same subject, he observes that he had put off until the paschal discourses 'to speak of the ceremonies described in Exodus, on the manner of celebrating the paschal solemnity, because adds he, this splendid night requires our instruction to be adapted rather to the circumstances of the time, than to the lesson of the day, in order that the neophytes may, *for the first time*, be taught in what manner we partake of the paschal sacrifice.'[b]

The author of the apostolical Constitutions, who assumes the name of Clement, disciple and successor of St. Peter, but whom critics place in the fourth century, expresses himself in the 85th canon as follows: 'These Constitutions, which I, Clement, have drawn up for you bishops, must on no account be communicated to all sorts of persons, because of the mysteries contained in them.'(c)

'Ask a catechumen whether he eats the flesh of the Son of man and drinks his blood, he knows not what you mean. . . . The catechumens do not know what the christians receive. The manner in which the flesh of the Lord is eaten is concealed from the catechumens.'(d)

'They who know the Scripture understand perfectly well what Melchisedeck offered when he blessed Abraham. We must not here make mention of it, because of the catechumens: the faithful however discover it.'(e)

'We have dismissed the catechumens and retained only you, to discourse to you respecting the mysteries, which the initiated alone are allowed to hear spoken of.'(f)

'What is this God, said Maximus of Medaurus, what is this God which you Christians consider as particularly belonging to yourselves and which you say you see present in your secret places? *Et in locis abditis præsentem vos videre componitis?*'(g) This question put to St. Augustine proves that the essence of the mystery was concealed from the pagans, and that there existed a re-

(a) Gaudentius. *Serm. ad Neoph.*—(b) Treatise V.—(c) Constit. Apost. can. 85.—(d) St. Augustine, Treatise II on St. John.—(e) The same, *Serm. X.*—(f) The same, *serm. I, in apendiceni*—(g) The same, *Epist. XLIII.*

‘port among them that the christians adored in their secret assemblies a God as present and visible.

FIFTH AGE.

In the dialogue entitled *the Immutable*, (a) he introduces Orthodoxus speaking thus: ‘Reply to me, if you please, in mystical and obscure terms: it is possible there may be present some who are not initiated in the ‘mysteries.’ (He means to say that this writing intended for the public, might fall into the hands of the uninitiated, and, so, betray the secret.) Eranistes: ‘I shall understand you, and reply to you according to that.’ And again, a little after: ‘You have clearly proved what you wished; although in mysterious words.’

‘In the second dialogue, Orthodoxus replies to this question. By what name do you call, before the priestly consecration, the gift that is offered? It must not be said ‘openly, because it may happen that we should be heard ‘by uninitiated persons.’ Eranistes: ‘Reply then in covert terms, if you please.’

‘The poor shall eat and shall be satisfied: not all indeed, for all have not obeyed the Gospel; but those who have had the divine love in their heart: it is concerning these that the Royal prophet said that their hunger and thirst should be satisfied, by the immortal nourishment that they should receive. Now, this divine nourishment is known to us with the doctrine of the spirit: and the mystic and immortal repast is well known by all those who have been initiated in the mysteries.’ (b)

Innocent I. consulted by Decentius, bishop of Eugubio, on the sacraments, replies on the subject of the pax which some priests wished to give one another, before the consecration: ‘The ceremony of the pax absolutely ought not to take place until after the things which I cannot reveal . . . As for the rest, which it is unlawful for me to write, we can discuss them together when you arrive.’

(a) Theodoret.—(b) The same, Com. on Ps. XXI.

LETTER IX.

Second general proof, drawn from the Liturgies.

THE Church has nothing to present us in her public worship so admirable as the sacrament of the Eucharist. The greater part of the other sacraments have reference to this, and prepare us for it. The greater part of the offices and ceremonies of the Church are but so many means or preparations either for the worthy celebration or participation of it. The Eucharist is the principal object here below of the thoughts and desires of the true Christian: it is the nourishment of his piety, the recompense of his labours, the consolation of his exile and earthly pilgrimage, his strength in dangers and afflictions, and even at the approach of death; it is in fine the pledge of his glorious resurrection. By representing our divine Mediator dying for the salvation of the world, it displays the greatest benefit we have received, the benefit on which rest our hopes of salvation. His bloody immolation took place on the cross: the oblation is renewed upon our altars, and will to the end of time continue to be the sole sacrifice of the new law, having taken the place of all the ancient sacrifices, from henceforth being the only one agreeable to the Supreme Being.

The prayers preparatory to this sublime act of religion, those which produce the consecration of the bread and wine, those which follow, those which accompany the distribution of the Eucharist, the acts of thanksgiving by which all is terminated, together with the rites and ceremonies employed throughout, compose what is here called the liturgy. The first liturgy was undoubtedly drawn up by the apostles according to instructions given them by their master, and celebrated by them in the assemblies which they held at Jerusalem till the time of their dispersion. St. James, who remained in charge over that Church, and who governed it for twenty-nine years, continued to administer the Eucharist there, according to the form he had observed in common with all the apostles:

those who had carried it with them into the countries which they traversed, communicated it to the bishops and priests whom they ordained, and established it in the Churches where they fixed their sees. Antiquity will soon give us to understand this: for the present it may be sufficient to observe that the power of offering the bread and the chalice is the essence of the priesthood and its most eminent prerogative, and that its use is essentially obligatory upon the evangelical ministry.

The most ancient monuments effectually bear testimony that the liturgy was in use wherever the religion of Christ was preached and established. Of this Pliny^a informs us, indistinctly 'tis true, but according to his means of information, when he relates that the christians assembled on certain days before sun-rise, sung hymns to Christ as to a God, bound themselves by mutual engagements, not to any crime, but to refrain from thefts, robbery, adultery, from breaking their promise, or betraying the trust reposed in them; and that they partook together of an innocent repast.

Justin^b goes into many details: he mentions that the assemblies were held every Sunday before day break; that the bishop presided in them: that they joined in prayer, and then in reading the prophets and apostles, which he, who presided, afterwards explained, exhorting the faithful to practise the beautiful instructions they had heard. He also mentions that the faithful rose and prayed, after the sermon, and saluted one another with the kiss of peace; that they presented the bread and wine to the presiding prelate, who offered up long prayers over the gifts that were offered, to which prayers the people answered *Amen*: that the deacons distributed the things sacrificed to those who were present, and carried them out to those who could not attend, &c. Justin does not give us the prayers recited by the president; he is satisfied with mentioning their effect, which was to change the bread and wine into the body and blood of Jesus Christ. The description he gives of every thing that passed in these secret assemblies exactly corresponds with the order of the liturgies.

^a Letter to Trajan.

^b First Apology.

Irenæus, a disciple of St. Polycarp, who himself had been a disciple of St. John, informs us that the the liturgy came from Jesus Christ and his apostles. ‘Our Lord,’ says he, taught the new oblation of his new Testament; ‘the Church has received it from the apostles, and presents it to God throughout the world.’^a These words are decisive: they shew that in the first and second century the liturgy was considered of apostolical and divine institution: Irenæus adds that this oblation was the same that Malachy had predicted, and which, putting an end to all other sacrifices, was alone to prevail from the rising to the setting of the sun.

St. Cyprian complains of the schismaticks, ‘who, slighting and abandoning the bishops, raise altar against altar, make up a different prayer composed of unlawful words, and profane by false sacrifices the truth of the divine victim.’^b We are then to conclude that there were essential forms of prayer, to be learned only from the bishops, and not to be suppressed or changed by any one whatsoever. ‘For, continues St. Cyprian, to oppose the established order, is to oppose the ordinance of God and incur his indignation.’ Here is a clear testimony that the essential prayers of the liturgy were traced to the institution of the apostles of Jesus Christ.

Firmilian, bishop of Cesarea, wrote to St. Cyprian, that twenty-two years before, a woman had deceived many of the faithful, even so far as to persuade them that she consecrated the Eucharist; for she often had dared to make appearance of sanctifying the bread by an *invocation by no means contemptible*, and of offering the sacrifice to the Lord *with the secret of the accustomed prayer*; so that she *seemed in nothing to swerve from the ecclesiastical rule*.^c Firmilian says that this unfortunate creature had seduced a priest, which accounts for her discovery of the prayers of consecration. This fact proves that there was a fixt formulary for the holy mysteries, that the priests alone were in possession of it, and that it was the rule or *canon* from which it was unlawful to swerve.

^a Against heresies, B. IV. ch. XXXII. ^b Book on Unity. ^c In St. Cyprian, Letter 75.

St. Epiphanius^a who bears testimony to the tradition of his time, that is of the fourth century, declares as follows : ‘ Peter, Andrew, James and John, Philip and Bartholomew, Thomas, Thaddeus and James the son of Alphaeus, and Judas the son of James and Simon the Cananean, and Matthias chosen to fill up the number of the twelve, were all chosen apostles to preach the holy gospel in the world with Paul and Barnabas and others : and they have been the ordainers of the mysteries with James, brother of our Lord, and the first bishop of Jerusalem.’ Here is a positive and indisputable fact : it is beyond doubt that in the time of Epiphanius the institution and order of the liturgies in use were attributed to the apostles, at least as to the essential part.

We can have no stronger warrant or evidence than that given by St. Epiphanius, who, being a native of Palestine, had applied closely, in solitude, to the study of sacred and profane authors, and was afterwards raised to the bishoprick of Salamis in Cyprus, where he died in 403, at the advanced age of ninety-three. He here makes special mention of St. James, as the first bishop of Jerusalem, because the apostles, having begun to celebrate the liturgy together in that city, must have proceeded regularly to compose and arrange the prayers, and decide as to what was essential. To this they would all conform of one common accord at Jerusalem, and each one separately, after the dispersion, would continue the same, in the Churches they established during the course of their preaching, and also in those where they eventually fixed their sees.

The author of the Apostolical Constitutions, who wrote about the middle of the fourth century, declares, in positive terms, that the liturgy came from St. James.

St. Augustine teaches^b that we must refer to the rites of the sacrifice that which St. Paul prescribed to Timothy, in these terms : ‘ I desire therefore, first of all, that invocations, prayers, supplications and thanksgivings be made for all men.’^c For, says St. Augustine, by *invocations*, the apostle here understands those that are made

^a *Hæres.* 79. No. 3. ^b Epistle 59 to Paulinus. ^c 1 Tim. c. 2. v, 1.

‘in the celebration of the sacred rites, before that which
 ‘is on the table of the Lord is blessed; by *prayers*, he
 ‘understands those that are said, when it is blessed, sanc-
 ‘tified and broken for distribution, and which are ended
 ‘by the Lord’s prayer almost throughout the whole
 ‘Church: by *supplications* he understands those pro-
 ‘nounced by the bishops when they bless the people;
 ‘and by thanksgivings those with which we finish the li-
 ‘turgy.’ You will tell me that St. Augustine speaks not
 here as a witness, but as a private divine. True: it
 forms part of an opinion, of a method peculiar to himself
 of understanding and applying this passage of St. Paul.
 If however you reflect a moment, you will perceive that
 even this opinion supposes that in his time the liturgy
 then used was generally attributed to the apostles: for,
 if it had not been so attributed, if it had been generally
 considered as of later origin, it would have been most evi-
 dent to every one that St. Paul could never have alluded
 to it when writing to Timothy: and St. Augustine
 would not probably have thrown away his labour in pur-
 suing an imaginary and fantastical allusion, by applying
 the words of the apostle to the different parts of a liturgy
 of which he could have had no knowledge. The con-
 nexion which the great bishop of Hippo discovers and ex-
 plains between the one and the other, supposes then that
 in his time it was considered that the liturgy, as celebra-
 ted in Africa, had been known to the apostles, in all es-
 sential points, and this is all the conclusion I wish to
 draw from it at present.

The ancient author of a work falsely attributed to
 Proclus of Constantinople, affirms, that ‘The apostles
 ‘after the ascension of Jesus Christ, before their disper-
 ‘sion, with one accord betook themselves to prayer for
 ‘days together, and, as they enjoyed great consolation
 ‘in the mystical sacrifice of the body of our Lord, they
 ‘celebrated mass with many prayers.’^a

Saint Celestin in opposing the errors of the Pelagians,
 referred to the ancient forms of prayer used in all the
 Churches of the world, and which he attributed to the
 apostles. ‘Let us consult these sacerdotal and mysteri-

^a Fragment on the tradition of the mass.

'ous collects, which transmitted by the apostles to the 'whole world, are uniformly recited in the universal 'Church, so that the rule of our prayers becomes that of 'our faith.'^a What are these collects and prayers? Celestin enumerates them at length. They are precisely the same that are every where said by us on Good Friday, for the unbelievers, Jews, heretics, &c.

Here would be the place to set before you in succession the belief of the principal Churches respecting the apostolicity of their liturgies: but, fearful of fatiguing your attention, I deem it more advisable to refer you for their full developement and detail to the end of this letter;^b you will there discover the great national Churches referring each their respective liturgy to one or other of the apostles, from whom it had received, together with its faith, its form of public worship.

I now come to some indispensable observations previous to my laying the liturgies open before you and before I develope those decisive consequences, which I intend to draw from them. If in the beginning the apostles had drawn up a liturgy with their own hands, it would have been ranked among the inspired and canonical writings: not a syllable could have been added or retrenched; it would have formed the constant, immutable law of the universal Church; all would have been uniformity, even to a word, in the prayers and also in the ceremonies instituted to accompany the recitation. The arcane discipline, established by the apostles themselves, permitted them not to mark it out by writing, any more than the formularies employed in the administration of the other sacraments. To give to each a copy of them would have been exposing them too much: there remained no other means of securing the transmission of them to posterity, than to intrust them to the zeal and the memory of their disciples, the bishops and priests, until Providence should please to grant the Church more favourable times. This was the plan determined upon by the apostles, and adopted by their successors. Of this I will give you a few satisfactory proofs. First,

^a *Epistle to the Bishops of Gaul*, ch. XI. in 423....^b Consult the Appendix.

you will have remarked that among all the authors who have attributed the liturgies to the apostles, not one pretends to say that the apostles ever *wrote* them: they all suppose the contrary, and some positively declare it. St. Justin says that the presiding minister prayed at great length, as much even as he was able. The whole of the prayer therefore was not fixed and determined; the formulary was not of so definite and determinate a character as to admit of no prolongation or curtailment. Tertullian clearly testifies that the formularies of the sacraments and the manner of administering them were only known by unwritten tradition.^a 'Mysteries should not be committed to writing, said Origen. *Mysteria chartis non committenda.*' Had the liturgy been written in the time of St. Cyprian, he would certainly have availed himself of it, to shew that wine was to be mixed with water in the chalice, against those whom he rebukes, and who through ignorance or simplicity offered only water. 'We must follow, said he, in every particular the evangelical law, and the divine tradition.'^b The gospel informs us that there was wine in the chalice which our Lord consecrated; and we know by tradition that this wine was mixed with water. St. Basil most expressly asserts what Tertullian evidently insinuates. 'Which of the saints was it, says he, that has left us in writing the words of invocation to consecrate the bread of the Eucharist and the cup of benediction? For we do not confine ourselves to the words given in the apostle and in the gospel; we add others both before and after, as being very efficacious for the mysteries, and which have not been written.'^c

When in the persecution of Diocletian, the tyrant's officers demanded the surrender of all the sacred books and whatever was employed in the service of the Churches, the traditor bishops replied; 'The lectors have all the books: for our parts, what we have here, we give you.' They were the sacred vessels which they blushed not to produce. The lectors had charge of books, from which they read to the assembled christians: now

^a De coronâ militis.---^b Epist. ad Cecil.---^c *Book on the Holy Spirit.*

these lectors never recited the prayers of the liturgy, they therefore could not possess them: and since these traditor bishops asserted that there were no other books besides those entrusted to the care of the lectors, it is evident that the liturgies were not written. A later fact proves this more clearly still.^a The Emperor Constantine, perceiving that the number of the christians had greatly increased, was desirous that the new Churches, raised in consequence of this vast increase, should be supplied with the books necessary for the divine service: he wrote to Eusebius of Cæsarea, enjoining him to procure fifty new copies of the Bible. Nothing was said about liturgies, although they would have been necessary to the service of the new Churches, equally as much as the Bible and the other things with which Constantine caused them to be supplied.

Can you account for this reserve. Sir? Can you explain why they were so fearful of committing the liturgy to paper? This question, you must allow, would have now embarrassed you, had it not been put to you before, at an earlier stage of this discussion. Indeed, it is impossible, according to the notions of the Calvinists and Zuinglians, to account for this ancient observance. The prayers of invocation would not have borne, indeed could not bear any other sense than to ask of God to make the bread and wine, vile and common creatures, become the sign and figure, the emblem or memorial of the body and blood of Jesus Christ present in heaven, but absent from the earth: Now this petition is so simple and natural, so perfectly coinciding with the ideas, and suited to the taste of all mankind, that there could have been no possible motive for its concealment, but contrariwise every reason in the world for its manifestation. Reflect here upon what has been said respecting the discipline of secrecy in general: the arguments there suggested by the subject return here upon us in their full force, and most naturally explain the extreme reserve of the Church in regard to the prayers composing the liturgy.

But, you will say, it being once granted, that, for several centuries, the liturgies were not written, it must

^a David Clarkson, *on the liturgies*.

follow of course that there was no fixed and determined formulary for the celebration of the holy mysteries, and that it is an error to attribute to the apostles the institution of the liturgies, such as we now have them in writing.

This objection is partially, but by no means entirely founded on truth : as I hope soon to convince you. To come to a better understanding of the matter, a little explanation will be necessary.

1^o You know that the formulary of faith was for many ages preserved among the christians without the help of the scriptures. The symbol of our faith and of our hope comes to us from the apostles, and is not written, said St. Jerome.^a—No one writes the symbol, says St. Augustine, and it is not to be read. Repeat it in your mind, each day, rising and retiring to rest ; your memory must be your book. *Sit vobis codex memoria vestra.*^b The like is to be said of the prayers of the liturgy. They were faithfully preserved in the memory of the bishops and priests, as was the symbol in the memory of the faithful : in both cases, their memories were their books. This living rule was held to be established by Jesus Christ and his apostles : Hence the ancient usage of obliging the priests to learn the liturgy by heart : which custom is scrupulously recommended and observed among the Copts. This precaution of not writing the symbol, the formularies of the sacraments and the prayer of consecration owed its origin to the general discipline of secrecy, and ended together with it, about the time of the council of Ephesus, in 431.^c

^a Epist. ad Pam.—^b Discourse to the Catechumens, on the symbol.

^c There was then no longer any reason for fearing that the mysteries should fall into the hands of the pagans, because the Emperors having embraced christianity, the faithful were no longer compelled to give up the Scriptures. Now therefore was the time to commit the symbol and the liturgy to writing. Almost all the Churches must have determined upon it, because the number of the christians increasing to an infinite extent, and that of the priests augmenting in proportion, it could

2^o I have one simple remark to make to you, and greatly should I rejoice were it to catch the eye of all those, who call in question the apostolic origin of the liturgies. All the fathers who for the four first ages make mention of the liturgies, before they were committed to writing, and all those who had occasion afterwards to speak of them, are of one mind in attributing their institution to the apostles. Of this we have supplied the proofs. What is the language held now a days? You, Sir, and your contradictory compeers, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries first begin to call in question the antient origin of the liturgies. In sober seriousness, do you pretend to put your opinion in competition with testimony of the whole christian world, during the first six centuries? Have you any historical information bearing on this fact, which was unknown to the ancients? Are you not at so great a distance from those times, and were not they so near them, that their testimony must evidently be preferred before the judgment

no longer be expected that they should all be as fervent and enlightened as they were in and after the time of Saint Justin, so as themselves to make suitable prayers adapted to persons and times, or that they should all have memories to learn and remember these prayers, without the possibility of ever reading them in a book.—*Le Brun sur les liturgies*, tom. II, p. 132, edit. in 8^o.

Up to this time we discover no trace of written liturgies, with the single exception of the book of the apostolic Constitutions, falsely attributed to pope Clement, but the real author of which is supposed by the best critics to have lived some time in the fourth century, between Saint Basil and Nectarius, that is, between 370 and 390. The liturgy is given in an abridged form in the 2nd book and at full length in the 8th.

The 85th canon is very remarkable: 'These constitutions reduced into eight books by me Clement, for you a bishop, must on no account be divulged, because of the mysteries they contain.' In the fourth age therefore they seemed to think that the discipline of secrecy was established from the beginning: they must therefore have been convinced that the liturgies were derived from the apostles, since the digesting of them is here attributed to Clement, the disciple and successor of St. Peter; and since in the eighth book the author positively declares that his liturgy came from St. James.

you venture to form? They belonged to the primitive times, the greater number of them were connected with the very origin of things by a very few intermediate links;* the tradition if it was at least fresh and vigorous; and would you, who come fourteen or fifteen centuries after them, throw doubt, suspicions and uncertainty around their positive persuasion and unanimous deposition? Certainly it is now your greatest interest to divest the liturgies, if possible, of their apostolic origin, because in them you read your condemnation: but in former times men had no interest either in contesting their real origin or in palming a false one upon them. Catholics, heretics and schismatics were all agreed upon this fact. There was no dispute, nor reproach on either side. The conviction of all was equally strong—the belief universal. In your opinion, which of these two deserve the most credit? Would any tribunal, any unprejudiced person lay more stress upon the doubts of a few persons of the eighteenth century, than upon the positive affirmation of all the christian Churches of antiquity, respecting a fact much more easily ascertained and of the first importance in those times, because it was every where intimately connected with the habitual celebration of the holy mysteries?

3^d Again, when we attribute the liturgies to the apostles, we do it as to their substance but not as to every particular part and portion of them. Every book of common usage, every collection of prayers and ceremonies is subject to change. What is adapted to one time may not be so to another. Public worship could not be the same during times of persecution as in the days of peace, neither could the mass be celebrated in subterraneous vaults, or in prison, with the same pomp and on the same grand scale as they afterwards were in magnificent temples and basilicks. Particular circumstances, local calamities, or feasts newly established required new and appropriate

* At Lyons, for example, in 204, there was but one intermediate link between Irenæus and St. John, Pothinus who could have known him, because he was 15 years of age when that apostle died, or Polycarp who had been his disciple.

prayers. The prefaces and collects composed to commemorate the apostles were naturally posterior to them and drawn up by a more recent hand : the abrogation of public penances under Nectarius, in 390, must necessarily have struck out from the liturgy whatever was connected with the penitents. In short it is not surprising that there should have been many variations in the liturgies of different Churches, before they were written, it being certain that new variations have appeared since they were committed to writing. These changes and alterations only took place in the variable and accidental part of the liturgy, the substance always remaining the same. And even this substance must not be considered as remaining word for word the same, since it has been translated into many languages. It was the sense that was always to be attended to, the sense that was to be preserved unvaried through all the Churches, and which is actually found the same in all the liturgies.

4^o And here I solicit your increased attention till the conclusion of my proof. It is acknowledged that the Apostles had instituted the liturgies : we find, before and after their publication, the most respectable authorities concurring to the certification of this fact ; witness Irenæus, disciple of St. John, by one intermediate gradation : Firmilian, bishop of Cæsarea, for Asia and the Gauls : Tertullian, Cyprian, Augustine, for Africa ; St. Cyril for Palestine ; St. Epiphanius, St. Basil, for the Islands and Greece : the fragment of Proclus for Constantinople : Celestin I. and Innocent I, for Rome and Italy : and after their publication, the popes Gelasius and Vigilius, Isidore of Seville, Hilduinus of Saint Denis, for Italy, Spain and Gaul : the author of the Apostolic Constitutions, Leontius of Byzantium, for Greece ; Athanasius and Rufinus for Ethiopia ; the ancient Copts for Egypt ; the Nestorians, Eutychians and Jacobites, for Syria, Armenia, Assyria, Persia and India. As a matter of history it is beyond dispute that the liturgies were instituted by the apostles. But how are we to ascertain what is derived from this source and what is not ? Nothing is more easy. When once the apostles taught by what prayers the mysteries were to be celebrated, these prayers were necessarily to be religiously observed

by their disciples and successors, to be regarded as essential, and to pass from age to age. as the rule or canon, from which it would never be lawful to depart. except as far as might regard the arrangement of terms. but never so far as to change the sense and substance of the words given by the apostles. Hence it will follow that all the liturgies of the world. when first committed to writing, must have expressed the sense and substance of those apostolic prayers, and that, whatever variety might exist in accidentals, the leading features of resemblance must be discernable in them all, and if I may use the expression, a family likeness indicative of their common origin.

If then it should be found that in the midst of variations that a long series of ages, a variety of events and the peculiar idioms of different Churches may well be supposed to have rendered unavoidable ; if it should be found, I say, that, notwithstanding, all the liturgies agree together as to their sense and substance, in the prayers that precede, accompany and follow the consecration, and if those prayers should be found clearly to express the real presence, transubstantiation, adoration and sacrifice, we must conclude that this uniformity, in every essential part of the liturgy, would denote an apostolic origin : for it would be impossible to account for such uniformity on any other supposition. No other cause can be discovered sufficiently preponderating and universal to unite in this manner all the Churches of the world in one common sentiment, in a firm adherence to the same dogmas, and invariably an equally scrupulous attention to professing them in the same circumstances. There exists no council to the intervention or agency of which this singular uniformity can be ascribed : in fact no council how general soever could have sufficed for the purpose, since the heretics would never have followed its decisions, and the schismatical societies of the fourth and fifth ages, no less hostile to each other than to the Mother Church, would never have come to an agreement to adopt formularies of prayers, and professions of faith, drawn up by a general council. Consequently, nothing less than the institution of the apostles and their authority, equally respected by all, could reasonably account for such a uniformity, if it actually existed in the christian liturgies

written in the fourth and fifth centuries. Now I will engage to prove to you, in the most palpable manner, that all the liturgies of these times, not only those used in the catholic Churches, but also those adopted in the schismatical and heretical societies, perfectly without exception agree in the prayers that precede, accompany and follow the consecration, and that they express in the clearest and most energetic terms the belief of the sacrifice, the real presence, transubstantiation and adoration. We are now dealing with a fact of most easy demonstration: a fact established by authentic citations drawn from all these liturgies. I will collect them together and make them pass in review before you.

‘We offer to thee our King and our God, this bread and this chalice, according to the ordinance of our Saviour, giving thee thanks through him for that thou hast vouchsafed to let us exercise the priesthood in thy presence. We beseech thee favourably to regard these gifts in honor of Jesus Christ, and to send down upon this sacrifice thy Holy Spirit, bearing testimony to the sufferings of the Lord Jesus, in order that he may make this bread become the body of thy Christ, and the chalice his blood: we offer thee &c.’^a The prayers are long and very beautiful.

At the time of communion, the people exclaim: ‘Hosannah to the Son of David, blessed be the Lord God who cometh in the name of the Lord, and who has shewn himself to us.’ The rubrick adds: ‘The bishop gives the Eucharist saying: *It is the body of Jesus Christ.* The receiver answers. *Amen.* The deacon gives the chalice saying: *It is the blood of Jesus Christ; the chalice of life;* and he who drinks, answers *Amen.* And after the communion the deacon begins an act of thanksgiving, and says; after having received the precious body and precious blood of Jesus Christ, let us return thanks to him who makes us partakers of his holy mysteries.’ The bishop concludes by a most solemn prayer.

In the liturgy, rather referred to than transcribed at length, in the second book, we read simply this: ‘The

^a Liturgy taken from Book VIII of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, written in the fourth century.

‘benediction is followed by the sacrifice, during which
 ‘all the people must remain standing, and pray in silence :
 ‘and after it is offered, each in his turn must receive the
 ‘body and blood of the Lord, approaching *with a reverence and a fear due to the body of the King.*’

‘Vouchsafe, O God ! we beseech thee, to make this ob-
 ‘lation in all things blessed, acceptable, ratified, *reason-
 ‘able*, and pleasing ; that it may *become* for us the body
 ‘and blood of thy well beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ.’
 And after the consecration : ‘We offer to thy supreme
 ‘Majesty, of thy gifts and benefits *a pure host, a holy host,
 ‘an unspotted host*, the holy bread of eternal life and the
 ‘chalice of everlasting salvation.’ And at the moment
 of communion, the priest, bowing down in the sentiment
 of *adoration and profound humility*, addresses himself to
 Jesus Christ, *whom he holds in his hands*, and says to
 him thrice ; ‘Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldst en-
 ‘ter under my roof, say but the word and my soul shall
 ‘be healed.’ And when he gives the holy communion,
 as also when he receives it himself, he again declares it
 to be the body of our Lord Jesus Christ.^a

Such was the language of the liturgy that was intro-
 duced into the British Isles in 595, and which up to the
 sixteenth century was universally celebrated in England,
 Ireland and Scotland, as it has been now for many cen-
 turies in France, Germany and Spain, and in every coun-
 try of the world, where latin priests are to be found.

It would be superfluous to introduce here the ancient
 Spanish liturgy, since we know, among others, from the
 learned Isidore, successor of Leander, his brother, to the
 see of Seville in 600, that, in the canon and every essen-
 tial part of the mass, it was conformable with the Roman
 liturgy, from which we have just been making an extract.

We have unfortunately no manuscript, nor monument
 describing the liturgy of Gaul to us at full length and
 unmingled with other subjects. There is extant an abridg-
 ed exposition of the mass composed by St. Germanus of Pa-
 ris, about the middle of the sixth century. With the help
 of this little treatise and of what we find in the works of
 St. Gregory of Tours, who lived a few years after St.

^a Roman Liturgy, according to the *Sacramentaries* of Gelasius.

Germanus, we are enabled to arrive at a tolerably exact knowledge of the ancient order of the Gallican mass and by the same means it is that the learned discover that it has more connexion and similarity with the oriental than with the Roman liturgy.

Now St. Germanus, speaking of the gifts laid upon the altar, says: 'The *bread is transformed* into the body, and the wine into blood, the Lord having said of the bread, this is my body, and of the wine, this is my blood. . . . The oblation is consecrated on the paten. . . . The angel of God descends upon the altar, as upon the monument, and blesses the *host*. Whilst the fraction is made, the clergy, in a suppliant posture, shall sing the anthem: vouchsafe, we humbly beseech thee, to receive this sacrifice, to bless and sanctify it, that it may become for us a legitimate Eucharist in thy name, and in the name of thy Son and of thy Holy Spirit, *being transformed into the body* and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.'^a

'May the consoling spirit of thy benediction, thy eternal co-operator, descend, O my God, on these sacrifices, to the end that . . . this aliment having been *transformed* into body, this chalice into blood, what we have offered for our sins, may save us by its merits. *Ut translata fruge* in corpore, calice in cruore, proficiat meritis quod obtulimus pro delictis.'^b

'Praying by our fervent supplications, that he who changes water into wine may *convert into blood* the wine which we offer.'^c

The Gothic Gallican Missal of the end of the seventh century contains a prayer to God in the form of invocation: 'That thou mayest vouchsafe to regard with a gracious eye these gifts presented upon thy altar, and that the Holy Spirit of thy Son may overshadow them.' And again this prayer after the consecration: 'We, being mindful of the passion and resurrection of our most glorious Lord, offer to thee, O God, *this spotless host, this reasonable host, this unbloody host.*' Again the following prayer before communion: 'Completing the sacred solemnities that we have offered to thee accord-

^a Gallican Liturgy: Mass of the Circumcision. Mass of the Assumption. ^c At the Epiplany.

ing to the order of the high priest Melchisedek, we devoutly beseech thee, O eternal Majesty, for the grace to receive *this bread changed into flesh* by the operation of thy virtue, and this drink *changed into blood*, and to drink in the chalice the same blood that flowed from thy side on the cross.*

The priest takes the bread and says of Jesus Christ: * Taking the bread into his holy, immaculate and immortal hands, raising his eyes to heaven, shewing it to Thee O God, his Father, he gave thanks, blessed, broke, and gave it to us, his disciples and apostles, saying: Take, eat, this is my body, which is broken for you, and for the remission of sins: (The people answer *amen*.) In like manner, after he had supped, taking the chalice, and mixing the wine with water, looking up to Heaven, and offering it to Thee, O God, his Father, he gave thanks, he sanctified, and blessed it and filled it with the Holy Ghost, and gave it to us his disciples, saying: drink ye all of this: This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you and for many, and which is given for the remission of sins. *Ans. Amen.* And further on: * We offer thee, O Lord, this tremendous and unbloody *sacrifice* . . . and again: * This life-giving Spirit, who reigneth with thee, who is consubstantial and coeternal with thee, O God, the Father, and with thine only begotten Son, who spoke by the law, by the prophets and by thy New Testament, who appeared and descended, in the form of a dove, upon our Lord, Jesus Christ, in the river Jordan; who came down, in the shape of fiery tongues, on thine apostles, when assembled in a room at holy and glorious Sion. Send down at present, this most holy Spirit on us and upon these holy gifts: that he, by his holy, kind and glorious presence, *may make this bread the holy body of Jesus Christ.* *Ans: Amen.* And this chalice the precious blood of Jesus Christ. *Ans: Amen.* Before the communion the priest addresses himself to Jesus Christ upon the altar as follows. * O Lord, my God, who art the bread of heaven and the life of the world, I have sinned against heaven

* St. James's Liturgy or the Liturgy of Jerusalem.

‘and before thee, and I am not worthy to partake of thy
 ‘most immaculate mysteries: but grant, by thy divine
 ‘mercy, that thy grace may make me worthy to receive
 ‘thy sacred body and precious blood, without incurring
 ‘condemnation, but for the remission of my sins and
 ‘everlasting life.’ At the communion of the people, the
 ‘Deacon says: ‘Draw near *with fear, with faith and*
 ‘*with love.*’ The people answer: Blessed is he, who
 ‘cometh in the name of the Lord.’

‘Receive us at thy holy altar,’ says the priest at the ob-
 lation, ‘according to thy great mercy; * and make us wor-
 ‘thy to offer thee this *reasonable and unbloody sacrifice,*
 ‘for our sins and for all the ignorance of the people....’^a
 After the words of consecration, which are not passed
 over in any liturgy with which I am acquainted, the
 priest bowing down, says, in a low voice: ‘We *offer* to
 ‘thee this reasonable and unbloody worship, and we be-
 ‘seech thee to send down thy holy Spirit upon us and
 ‘upon these gifts: *make this bread the precious body of*
 ‘*thy Christ,* (the deacon answers *Amen*), and what is in
 ‘this chalice, the precious blood of thy Christ, (the dea-
 ‘con answers *amen*), *changing* them by the holy Spirit.’
 The deacon answers, *Amen, amen, amen.* Further on,
 the priest addresses himself to Jesus Christ, and says:
 ‘O Jesus Christ, our God, look down upon us, from thy
 ‘holy mansion, and the throne of glory in thy kingdom:
 ‘thou, who dwellest in the highest heavens, with the Fa-
 ‘ther, and *who art invisibly present with us here below,*
 ‘render us worthy, by thy mighty hand, to partake of
 ‘thy immaculate body and precious blood, and to distri-
 ‘bute it to all thy people.’ The priest and the deacon
 keep themselves in a posture of *adoration*, and both re-
 peat three times: ‘Lord be merciful to me a sinner:’
 ‘the people adore in like manner..... Towards the
 communion the priest says to the deacon: ‘deacon
 ‘draw near:’ he draws near and *bows down with rever-*
ence before the priest, who holds a particle of the bless-
 ed host in his hand, and the deacon says, ‘Father, give
 ‘me the holy and precious body of our God and Saviour,

^a Liturgy of Constantinople: by some attributed to the apos-
 tles; since the seventh century ascribed to St. Chrysostom.

‘Jesus Christ.’ The priest gives it into his hand, and says: ‘I do give thee the precious, holy, and most immaculate body of the Lord God our Saviour Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins and eternal life.’

Then the deacon bowing down near the altar, prays in the same manner that the priests does, who takes the blessed host, saying: ‘I believe, Lord, and I do confess, that thou art Christ, the Son of the living God, who camest into the world to save sinners, of whom I am the chief. Make me partake of thy mystical supper; for I will not reveal the mystery to thy enemies, and I will not give thee a treacherous kiss like Judas; but, like the good thief, I confess, what thou art: remember me, O Lord, in thy kingdom’ I regret that I cannot transcribe the whole of this confession, which concludes as follows: ‘Pardon and remit me, O Lord, our God, the sins, which I have committed against thee, whether knowingly or through ignorance, whether by word or deed: O thou, who art goodness itself, forgive them all, through the intercession of thy unspotted and ever Virgin Mother: suffer me not to incur condemnation, but to receive thy precious and immaculate body. . . .’ The priest then presents the chalice to the deacon, who says: ‘I come to the immortal King: I believe, Lord, and I do confess, that thou art Christ, the Son of the living God . . . :’ and the priest says: ‘Thou, O Deacon, N. the servant of God, receivest the holy body and precious blood of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins and eternal life.’ The deacon going to communicate the people, says: ‘Draw near *with faith and in the fear of God.*’ The choir answers: *Amen, amen, amen*; blessed be he who cometh in the name of the Lord.’ The communion is administered to the faithful, by giving them, with a spoon, the consecrated bread and wine. The communicant says: ‘I believe, O Lord, and confess, that thou art, in truth, the Son of the living God.’ ‘Servant of God,’ says the deacon to him, ‘receive the most holy body and precious blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ.’

This liturgy is used by all the Greeks who are in the west, at Rome, in Calabria and Apulia; by the Mingrelians and Georgians; by the Bulgarians, Russians and

Muscovites ; by all the modern Melchite christians, whether subject to the patriarch of Alexandria resident at Cairo, or to the patriarch of Jerusalem, or to the patriarch of Antioch, residing at Damascus.

We will now proceed to give some extracts from the liturgies of St. Mark,^a of St. Basil and St. Gregory Nazianzen. The Jacobite Copts, who were opposed to the council of Chalcedon in 451, have now continued to make use of it for more than twelve hundred years.

In the preparatory prayer, the priests says: ‘O Lord, by virtue of thy holy Spirit, make us worthy to fulfil this ministry, that we may not fall into judgment before the throne of thy glory and that we may offer the *sacrifice* of benediction’ The following are a few words taken from the oblation: ‘O Lord, Jesus Christ, the only Son and Word of God the Father, bless this bread and this chalice which we have placed upon this sacerdotal table: sanctify them, consecrate them, and *change* them in such manner that this bread may *become* thy holy body, and that what is mixed in the chalice may *become* thy precious blood.’ Having devoutly repeated the words of institution, the priest continues: ‘O Christ, our God, we thy sinful and unworthy servants, *adore* thee, and beseech thee, that through thy gracious clemency, thou mayest send down thy holy spirit upon these gifts, which are in thy presence, to sanctify and make these holy things, the Holy of holies: that he may *make* this bread the holy body of our very Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, which is given for the remission of sins and everlasting life to him, who receives it: (the people answer, *Amen*,) and this chalice, the precious blood of the New Testament of our ever Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who is given for the remission of sins and life everlasting to him, who receives it.’ People, *Amen*. At the Preface before the breaking of the bread, the priest says: ‘..... We, therefore, beseech him, the Almighty Lord God, our God, to make us worthy to communicate of his divine and immortal mysteries, the holy

^a Called also the Alexandrian and Coptic Liturgy. St. Mark was the first bishop of the Church of Alexandria.

‘body and precious blood of his Christ.’ At the breaking of the bread, he says: ‘O Lord our God, thou, who has sanctified the oblations, which lie upon the altar, by the descent of thy holy Spirit.’ A little before the communion, the deacon gives notice of it by these words:—‘With fear attend to God.’ The people reply: ‘Lord have mercy on us.’ The priest then takes the larger particle of the host and having elevated it bows down and exclaims: ‘Holy things are for the holy.’ And all the people *cast themselves prostrate on their faces to the earth*. Shortly after this, comes the profession of faith, which the priest makes in the following terms: ‘This is the holy body and the pure and precious blood of Jesus Christ, the Son of God. This is, in truth, the body and blood of *Emanuel* our God—Amen. I believe, I believe, I believe and I confess to the last breath of life, that this is the life-giving body of thine only begotten Son, our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ. He received it from the Lady of us all, from the pure and holy Mary, mother of God, and made it one with his divinity without any commixtion, confusion, or alteration of the divinity. He witnessed a good confession before Pontius Pilate, and, of his own free will, delivered himself up for us all on the wood of the holy cross. I truly believe that this divinity was not separated from his humanity, no, not even for one single hour, or so much as the twinkling of an eye.^a He delivered it for our salvation, for the remission of sins and everlasting life to him, who receives it. I believe this to be so in truth.’^b

^a These words bear quite a catholic sense: they indicate the union but not the confusion of the two natures: they did not confound them, as did the Eutychians. And, although the Jacobites attached to Dioscorus did indeed reject the council of Chalcedon by which he was condemned; they nevertheless pronounced anathema upon Nestorius and Eutyches, according to the edict of union of the Emperor Zeno, which they have always received.

^b We are indebted for our information respecting the Jacobite Copts to the travels and the laborious and luminous investigations of the learned Vansleb. He was a native of Erfurt, and studied the Ethiopian language under M. Ludoff, who

There is so much resemblance between the Ethiopian or Abyssian liturgies and the liturgy of the Jacobite Copts, that it will suffice to cite a few particular passages from them. What is called the liturgy of the three hundred and eighteen fathers thus expresses the invocation : ' Wherefore O Lord, we beseech and intreat thee, mercifully to send down thy holy Spirit, and to cause it to descend, to come and shed its light upon this bread, that it may *become* the body of our Lord, and that what is contained in the chalice may be *changed* and may *become* the blood of Jesus Christ.'^a

Another liturgy, translated into Latin by M. Ludoff, a Lutheran, has the following words : ' Send down, O Lord, we beseech thee, thy holy Spirit and his influence upon this bread and this chalice, to the end that he may *make* them the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, our Lord for ever and ever.'

The liturgy, called of the apostles,^b after the words of our Saviour, goes on : ' The people say ; *Amen, amen, amen* ; we believe it, we are certain of it : we praise thee O Lord, our God. *It is truly thy body*, and so do we believe.' And after the words over the chalice, the people say : *Amen, it is truly thy blood* ; we believe it.' We find here, before communion, the same strong and lively profession of faith that I extracted from the Coptic liturgy : we even find the expressions the same.

prevailed upon the Duke of Saxony to send him to the Levant and as far as Ethiopia, with the expectation that he should there make some discoveries favourable to lutheranism. Being unable to penetrate as far as Ethiopia, Vansleb turned his attention to the Jacobite liturgies, examined them thoroughly, by this examination discovered the errors of his communion, became a Catholic and afterwards a Dominican at Rome. Passing into France he was received and cherished by M. Colbert. This great minister, who only wanted men capable of seconding his vast and noble views, sent him again to the Levant, with orders to purchase all the oriental manuscripts he could discover. Vansleb sent more than five hundred of them to the Royal Library. After again attempting in vain to reach Ethiopia, he returned in 1676 to France, where he died a few years after.

^a Taken from Vansleb's translation, *Histoire d' Alexandrie* chapter on Transubstantiation.

^b From Renaudot's Latin translation.

The priest communicates the people saying: 'This is the bread of life, which comes down from heaven, *truly* the precious body of Emmanuel, our God.' The communicants answer: *Amen*. The deacon presents the chalice, saying: 'This is the chalice of life, which comes down from heaven, and is the precious blood of Jesus Christ.' The communicants answer: *Amen, amen*.

Liturgies have been much more multiplied among the Syrians than among the other christian Churches. The liturgy of St. James is regarded by them as the most ancient and the most common, as containing the whole order of the Mass, with which all the others agree. I have already cited some passages from the Greek version. I will now produce a few from the Syriac version. At the preparation for the sacrifice the deacon says: 'O God, who in thy mercy didst accept the sacrifice of the ancient just, accept also in thy mercy our sacrifice, and vouchsafe to grant our petitions.' Between the words of institution and the invocation which are the same as in the Greek version, the deacon announces the descent of the holy Spirit upon the gifts, by a most striking admonition: 'How awful is this time my brethren,' exclaims he, 'how terrible is the moment, in which the vivifying and holy Spirit is about to descend from the highest heavens upon this Eucharist placed in the sanctuary, and to sanctify it. Hold yourselves *in fear and in trembling* and be fervent in prayer: may peace be with you and the security of God, the Father of us all. Let us cry three times, *Kyrie eleison*.' After this comes the invocation, as it is found in the Greek version. The deacon then makes a most beautiful prayer aloud: 'Bless us again and again, O Lord, by this holy oblation, by this *propitiatory sacrifice*, which is offered to God the Father, which is sanctified, completed and perfected by the descent of the holy and life-giving Spirit..... Tremble, ye ministers of the Church; for you administer a living fire: the power that is given to you is above that of the seraphim. Happy the soul that approaches this altar with purity! for the Holy Spirit registers its name in heaven and conducts it thither. Tremble, ye deacons, in the sacred hour when the Holy Spirit comes down to sanctify the body of those who receive

‘him.... Be mindful, O Lord! of those who are absent, and have pity on us. Grant peace and repose to the souls of the faithful departed : pardon sinners in the day of judgment : place in repose and peace with the just and holy the souls of those who are departed from us by death : may thy cross be their support, thy baptism their clothing : may thy body and blood be their guide to conduct them to thy kingdom.’ The deacon, afterwards addressing himself to the people, says : ‘ *Bow down your heads* before the God of mercies, before the altar of propitiation, and before the body and blood of our Saviour.’ At the breaking of the host, at the communion of the priest, we find it invariably to be the body of Jesus Christ that is broken and watered with his blood ; it is the holy and life-giving blood that he receives. The deacon, administering it to the people, says : ‘ My brethren, the Church cries out to you ; receive the body of the Son and drink his blood with firm belief : ... this is the chalice, which our Lord mixed on the wood of the cross : approach mortals, and drink it for the remission of your sins.’

Now look at the invocation of the Syriac liturgy,* called, of St. Maruthas, metropolitan of Tagrit in Mesopotamia, and friend of St. Chrysostom : ‘ Have compassion on me, O God! the lover of man : send down upon me and upon this oblation thy holy Spirit, the Spirit which proceeds from thee, which receives of thy Son and perfects all the mysteries of the Church, which reposes upon these oblations and sanctifies them.’ The people : ‘ Pray.’ The priest : ‘ Hear Me, O God.’ The people say thrice : ‘ *Kyrie eleison.*’ The priest, raising his voice : ‘ May he *transmute and make, (transmutet atque efficiat)* this simple bread into that very body which was immolated upon the cross ; the very body that rose again with glory, and never knew corruption ; the body that prepares life ; the body of the very Word of God, our Saviour Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins.’ (The people : *Amen.*) and may he *transmute and make* the wine which is in the chalice *to become (transmutet et perficiat)* the very blood that was shed on the

* From the Latin translation of Renaudot.

‘summit of Golgotha; the very blood which flowed upon the earth and purified it from sin; the very blood which prepares for life, the blood of the Lord himself, of the Word of God, and of the Saviour Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins and life eternal to those who receive it.’

At the offertory the priest says: “May Christ, who was immolated for our salvation and who has commanded us to commemorate his death and resurrection, himself receive this *sacrifice* presented by our unworthy hands.” And, as he had asked the assembled people, they reply: “May the Lord hear thy prayers, may thy *sacrifice* be acceptable in his eyes, and may he deign to receive thy *oblation* and honour thy priesthood.” *The Priest.* May thy holy Spirit, O God! come and repose on the oblation of thy servants; may he bless and sanctify it.” (The prayers for the consecration are wanting in the manuscript.) At the breaking of the host, and the mixture of the two species, the liturgy uses no other language than that of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, the precious body and life-giving blood. At the communion the deacon cries out: “Let us all approach *with trembling*.” And afterwards again: “My brethren, receive the body of the Son. The Church exclaims to you; Drink his chalice with faith.” At the thanksgiving the priest says: Christ our God, our Lord, King and Saviour has made us worthy, by his grace, to receive his body and his precious blood, by which every thing is sanctified.”

“With hearts full of respect and fear, let us all approach the mystery of the precious body and blood of our Saviour; and now, O Lord! that thou hast called me to thy holy and pure altar to offer unto thee this *living and holy sacrifice*, make me worthy to receive this gift with purity and holiness.” At the communion the priest says again: “O Lord, my God! I am not worthy, neither is it becoming that I should partake of thy body and the blood of propitiation, or even

* From the Liturgy used by the Nestorians, called the Liturgy of the Holy Apostles. Renaudot’s *latin translation*.

‘so much as touch them. But may thy word sanctify my soul and heal my body.’ And in the thanksgiving after communion, the priest says: ‘Strengthen my hands which are stretched out to receive the Holy One. . . . Repair by a new life the bodies, which have just been feeding upon *thy living body*. . . . God has loaded us with blessings by his living Son, who for our salvation descended from the highest heavens, clothed himself with our flesh, has given us *his own flesh* and mixed *his venerable blood* with our blood, a mystery of propitiation.’^a

After the words of institution, the deacon says aloud: ‘*Silence and trembling!*’ Then comes the invocation, which the priest, bowing down, begins as follows: ‘May the grace of the Holy Spirit come upon us and upon this oblation: may it descend and repose upon this bread and upon this chalice, and may it bless and sanctify them May this bread by the virtue of thy name, *become* the holy body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and this chalice the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.’^b

The invocation runs thus: ‘O God! may the grace of the Holy Spirit come, dwell and repose upon this oblation, which we present before thee: may it sanctify *and make it*, i. e. this bread and chalice, the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, thou thyself *transforming* them, *transmutante ea te*, and sanctifying them by the operation of the holy Spirit.’^c

The liturgy of Nestorius and the preceding one of Theodorus resemble the first, called the liturgy of the apostles.

At the offertory of the mass for the dead are found these words: ^d ‘Holy Father, lover of mankind, receive this *sacrifice* in memory of the dead: place their souls among the saints in thy heavenly kingdom: may this *sacrifice* that we offer with faith, appease thy divinity and procure repose to their souls.’ At the canon, the priest speak-

^a In the liturgy of the Nestorians of Malabar — ^b Liturgy of Theodorus of Mopsuestia. From Renaudot’s *latin translation*.

^c From the liturgy of Nestorius. Renaudot’s *latin translation*.

^d Armenian liturgy: translated into latin by M. Fidon of Saint Oion, bishop of Babylon, and into *French* by pere le Brun.

ing of our Saviour says : ' Taking the bread into his divine, immortal and spotless hands, which have the *power to create*, he blessed it, gave thanks, broke it, &c. . . . ' O God ! send upon us and upon these gifts, thy holy Spirit, coeternal and consubstantial with thyself (the deacon bows to the corner of the altar), that thou mayest *make* this blessed bread the body of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.' And, holding the host over the chalice, he continues : ' That thou mayest *make* this blessed bread and wine the *true and real body* and the *true blood* of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, *changing* them ' by thy Spirit.' . . . The priest *adores* three times, kisses the altar, and from that time raises his hands no more over the gifts : but now, with his eyes fixed upon them, he *reverses them as God*, and with tears exposes his wants. . . . Towards the communion the priest *adores*, kisses the altar, and, taking the sacred body, dips it all into the precious blood, saying : ' O Lord, our God, . . . ' make us worthy, we beseech thee to receive this sacrament for the remission of our sins.' . . . The priest, with humble reverence elevating the sacred body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ from the holy table, turns round and shews it to the people, saying : ' Let us ' with holiness taste this holy, sacred and precious body ' and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who, ' descending from the heavens, is distributed among us.' . . . He then says : ' I confess and believe that thou art ' the Christ, the Son of God, who didst take upon thee the ' sins of the world . . . O Jesus Christ my God ! I taste ' with faith thy holy and life-giving body for the remission of my sins . . . O my God, Jesus Christ, I taste ' with firm faith thy purifying and sanctifying blood for ' the remission of my sins.' Then, making the sign of the Cross upon his mouth, he pronounces these words of St. Thomas the apostle : ' May thy incorruptible body be my ' life, and thy sacred blood the propitiation and remission ' of my sins.' Then, turning towards the people with the chalice : ' Approach with *fear* and with *faith*, and communicate in holiness.' During the communion of the people a canticle is sung, in which are these words : ' This ' bread is the body of Jesus Christ : this chalice is the ' blood of the new Testament : the hidden sacrament is

‘made manifest, and by it God shews himself to us. *Here is Jesus Christ*, the word of God, he who sits at the right hand of the Father; he is *sacrificed* in the midst of us, &c.’

I cannot sufficiently exhort you, Sir, to read the whole of these different liturgies: you will find them in the admirable work of pere le Brun,^a who has been my guide. I have followed him through his learned expositions, feeling convinced that I might safely rely on his authority. And now my only remaining wish is, that the few short extracts I have made from him, may create in you a laudable curiosity to read the whole of his work.^b

^a Explication litterale, historique et dogmatique des prières et des cérémonies de la messe, suivant les anciens auteurs, et les monumens de toutes les Eglises du monde chrétien. 4 vol: in 8o. —The English reader may profitably peruse the collection of liturgies to be found in an Appendix to that excellent work of the late Dr. Poynter, entitled, ‘Christianity,’ &c. Tr.

^b The oriental liturgies were not much known in Europe before the seventeenth century. Had they been brought to light about a century sooner there is every reason to believe that they would have deadened the rage of the reformers against the apostolic dogmas of the Eucharist. Certain it is, that, since their discovery, they have brought back to the primitive faith and catholic unity men of the first talents and of great learning, who had imbibed from their infancy the principles of the reformation. Certain it is, that, they have produced much trouble and inquietude in the heart of many more, who, notwithstanding, could not be torn from their error, but who were compelled to publish their anxious wish to see these liturgies again established in protestant communions. ‘I find, says Grotius (*Votum pro pace*) ‘in all the greek, latin, arabic, syriac and other liturgies, prayers ‘to God that he would consecrate by his Holy Spirit the gifts ‘offered to him, and that he would make them the body and ‘blood of his Son. I had therefore good reason for saying that ‘a custom so ancient and so universal, that it must be considered as coming from the first ages, ought not to be changed.’ Whiston, Stephens and Grahe, distinguished divines of your church, being dissatisfied with the English liturgy, have composed some of their own, more in conformity with the oriental liturgies. ‘The reverend and pious Ed. Stephens (says Whiston in the preface to his liturgy) not only zealously declared ‘himself to be of the same opinion, but had himself drawn up an ‘excellent liturgy very conformable to the original liturgies. . . ‘And more than this, he made use of it most openly in London ‘for many years, to his own great satisfaction as well as to that

I know not what impression the above extracts may have made upon you. The impressions they made upon me were such as I shall now candidly declare. In the

of his whole congregation. Even the learned and pious Dr. Grabe had so great a relish and admiration for this eucharistic formulary, that, not presuming to communicate in public, because the actual Anglican form differs in some respect from the primitive liturgies, he repaired to the private congregation of Dr. Stephens, and there communicated in the joy and consolation of his heart. Now the liturgy of Dr. Stephens, after the words of institution ran thus: 'We offer thee through Jesus Christ this pure and spotless offering, in the most humble *adoration* . . . In all humility we beseech thee, O Almighty God, to accept this *unbloody, reasonable* and spiritual sacrifice . . . Send also thy Holy Spirit upon these elements here spread out, that he may bless and sanctify them; and that to those who receive them, this bread may become the precious body of thy Christ, and this wine, the precious blood of thy Christ, for the remission of sins and life everlasting.'

Doctor Grabe had composed two liturgies. One of them is in Greek, and in it are found these words: 'Hear us, O merciful Father! we humbly beseech thee; send down thy Holy Spirit on us, and these gifts here offered, *and make this bread* the precious body of thy Christ, and what is in the cup, the precious blood of thy Christ.' And at the communion: 'May the body of our Lord, Jesus Christ delivered for me (for thee), preserve my soul and body (thy &c.) to life everlasting! May the blood of Jesus Christ, shed for me [thee], preserve my soul and body to life everlasting!' This liturgy contained also a prayer for the dead.

In the English liturgy there was this prayer: 'Vouchsafe, O my God, to bless and sanctify, by thy word and thy Spirit, these thy creatures, this bread and wine, that they may *become* for us the body and blood of thy very dear Son.'

Whiston's liturgy, printed at London, 1713, holds the same language. [See Plessius *Sancti Irenaei scripta anecdota*, p. 346.] In 1716, many English and Scotch entered into a compact to unite themselves to the oriental Church, and establish a particular rite. Two years afterwards, they printed at London, 1718, a liturgy in English, in which are these words: 'We give thee thanks for admitting us here to offer thee the *sacrifice* . . . Send down thy Holy Spirit, the witness of the passion of our Saviour Jesus, on this *sacrifice*, that He may *make* this bread the body of thy Christ.' All this is, indeed, so much homage paid to the apostolicity of our public liturgy: but of what avail were all these feeble attempts? It is neither by clubs and associations, nor by piece-meal, that the deserted path of truth is regained.

first place, I became covered with confusion : in them I read my own condemnation and also that of the great proportion of catholics of the present day. How lively, said I to myself, is the faith of these first christians, who lived near the times of revelation and its accompanying prodigies ! how feeling is their conviction of the truth and divinity of its dogmas ! how strongly do they express this their belief ! with what piety and holy fear do they approach to partake of the sacred mysteries. How do they labour to keep themselves in a fit state to approach ! and how eager are they to return again to the heavenly banquet ! They seem no longer to belong to the earth ; they lead the life of angels ; riches, honors, pleasures, all that can flatter the senses of man, they despise and forsake. Neither sufferings nor torments, nor death seem to affect them : their aim and object are eternity and heaven : good works, pure morals, prayer and a frequent use of the sacraments are the means they employ to arrive thither. And we, degenerate offspring of so holy a race, how do we behave ? Tepid and slothful inheritors of their name and belief, we scarcely possess a shadow of their virtues. The time and thoughts of the generality of christians are occupied with the pleasures and affairs of this world. Incredulity in some, stupidity of faith in others, indifference in almost all, have nearly exterminated practical christianity from among us. Observe their repugnance to the sacred table : by many it is entirely abandoned ; many, whether from habit or for appearance sake, approach to it once in the year ; tepidity and thoughtless indifference accompany their approach ; nay, shameful to say ! but too often appear in those who officiate at the altar. For, where do we find the minister seized with fear and trembling ? To judge from the precipitation of some, and the cold formality of others, it will be difficult to believe that they even think of their exalted ministry, of the divine victim they are about to offer for the salvation of the people, and of that divine furnace which they hold in their hands, and which is about to pass to their heart, without enkindling a flame therein ? Unfortunate people ! and more unfortunate pastors ! whence comes this universal degradation ? I know full well the cause, and in spite of the pretensions

of the age, I shall not hesitate to lay it to our profound ignorance. We appreciate only the knowledge of the things that pass, and view with apathy those things that never pass away. Our judgment, taste, inclination, and our whole life are one system of positive error, reaching with fatal consistency from the cradle to the grave. *O curæ in terras animar et celestium inanes !* What will be the termination of this irreligious disorder, and to what this abuse of our reason will conduct us, I know not : but, it is impossible not to remember that according to the word of God the extinction of all faith is one indication of the approaching close of this terrestrial world.

Having thus lamented our fallen state, I turned my thoughts upon the various protestant societies, and comparing their belief with the belief of the first ages, I was seized with astonishment and pity. Is it possible, have I a thousand times exclaimed, that men should announce to the world a religious reformation with the plausible and alluring promise of restoring the primitive faith and fervour, whilst at the same time, they commence the work, by erasing from the catalogue of faith that which the primitive ages believed and practised as most holy and sublime ! For, most assuredly, the liturgies written in the fifth century present us with those essential prayers, which the bi-shops and priests of preceding ages repeated from memory at the altar. Some trifling variations in the expressions, in the arrangement of the prayers, and in the disposition of the rites and ceremonies, clearly shew that they were not written by the apostles : but the complete and universal agreement of the liturgies pointing out to us, through the whole christian world, the oblation, the victim the unbloody sacrifice, the invocation for effecting the change of substance, the adoration which follows it together with the real presence, &c. can proceed but from one and the same cause, a cause equally imperative and obligatory upon all, in short, from one and the same apostolical institution. Indeed, if the apostles had not taught by their word and example that these dogmas should be expressed in the celebration of the sacred mysteries, how comes it that they are found in all the liturgies as soon as they appear ? Let the advocates of a figurative presence and of a real

absence tell us, if they can, at what time and in what manner mankind could have passed from a belief so simple as theirs, and which, according to them, had been taught by the apostles and their disciples in all nations, to a perfectly contrary belief, to inconceivable dogmas, which had been hitherto unheard of, and which suddenly plunged the world into a new abominable idolatry. By what means and at what precise time could this prodigious change take place? Would it be at the time when the liturgies were committed to writing? or would it be before that time? But they were not written all at once: there was no general order given for bringing them to light; there was not, neither could there have been, any agreement or understanding amongst those who compiled them. A thousand clamours would have been raised against the unfaithful authors of a first liturgy; a thousand reclamations would have echoed from every side against interpolations so serious and notorious. If we call to mind the zeal of St. Cyprian against those who did not mix water in the chalice, we shall be able to judge of the reclamations that would have been raised against more essential innovations at a time when, as St. Jerome said, the blood of Jesus Christ was still smoking, and the newly enkindled faith was burning in the hearts of the faithful. It would have been the duty of every bishop and priest loudly to condemn an attempt of such a nature; silence, in such circumstances, would have been a crime. Every patriarch and metropolitan would have published the ancient liturgy of his Church to stifle these revolting novelties in their birth; and we should have possessed at this day a multitude of contrary liturgies. It cannot be doubted that the Fathers of Ephesus and Chalcedon would have proclaimed the legitimate tradition, have suppressed the authority of the false liturgies, and confirmed those that were authentic and true.

We shall be obliged therefore to suppose that the change must have taken place before the publication of the liturgies. But, name what Church you please, it is impossible to conceive that such a change could have been effected during the interval between the time of the apostles and the commitment of the liturgies to writing. We will, if you please, take an example the Church of

Alexandria. About the year 328, we find Frumentius leaving that city and carrying with him a copy of the liturgy for the purpose of celebrating it in the centre of Abyssinia. This copy, transcribed by the order and under the inspection of Athanasius, must have been revised by him and found conformable to that which was in use in his Church, to that which numerous venerable priests of his clergy had constantly recited at the altar for fifty or sixty years, and which they had learned from their predecessors the most advanced in years; already we find that the very first links of this chain bring us to the times of St. Clement, who died in this Church about the year 215, and St. Clement assures us that in his time there were still surviving some of those, who had immediately succeeded the apostles. Where are we to place this anti-apostolical change in a chain so closely and sacredly connected, and so near to the first origin of christianity? The same observation would apply to the Church of Jerusalem, of which the second bishop, Simeon, was 120 years old when crowned with martyrdom, and the liturgy of which was explained by St. Cyril to his neophytes about the middle of the fourth age; and likewise to the Church of Lyons, where St. Irenæus, the disciple of St. Polycarp, sealed the faith with his blood in 204, &c. Now if a change of this nature could not have been effected in any given Church, how are we to conceive it possible in them all? How are we to imagine, that, in times so pure and so devoted to the doctrine of the apostles, men could ever have come to an understanding to change and to corrupt that doctrine; that they could, for the adopting of an unheard of faith and novel practices, have concerted together, in Italy, in Gaul and in Spain, in Syria and in the kingdoms of Asia? But this is not all: how are we to imagine that the Nestorians, who appeared at the precise time when the liturgies were first published, would have borrowed them from the Church which condemned their heresy, instead of retaliating upon her by reclamations which they might reasonably have made, and which their interests would not have allowed them to forego? How are we to conceive again, that the partisans of Entyches would have followed the same conduct, and that the nu-

merous enemies of the council of Chalcedon—the Jacobites, Copts or Syrians—would have taken pride in celebrating the catholic liturgies, notwithstanding so many essential and manifest interpolations? This supposition is full of every thing so contrary to the laws that rule the heart of man, that it would be loss of time to dwell any longer on the subject. As it cannot with any shew of reason be contradicted, nothing remains but frankly and honourably to acknowledge, that the unanimity, and uniform agreement of all the christians of the fifth age, without even a trace of the most trifling reclamation, clearly prove that the liturgies of that period must faithfully express the belief and practice of the first ages^a

These ancient liturgies you have just been reading—In them you have every where discovered the altar, the oblation, the immolation of the victim and the unbloody sacrifice: every where have you found the invocation for effecting the change of substance, which, on the one hand, supposes the real presence, and, on the other, commands our adoration. From north to south, from east to west you have heard words expressing these dogmas proceed from the mouth of the priests and bishops, even, if I mistake not, with more energy and spirit in the oriental Churches than in the Roman Church. You have beheld all the christians of the world approaching the altar with faith, fear and adoration. Such therefore was incontestibly the belief of the world, united with the general and almost daily practice of this golden age of

^a ‘I add, to what hath been already observed the consent of all the christian Churches in the world, however distant from each other, in the prayer of *oblation* of the christians *sacrifice*; in the holy Eucharist or sacrament of the Lord’s Supper; which consent is indeed wonderful. All the ancient witnesses agree in this form of prayer, almost in the same words, but fully and exactly in the same sense, order and method; which, whosoever attentively considers, must be convinced, that this order of prayer was delivered to the several Churches in the very first plantation and settlement of them.’ Bishop Bull’s ‘Some important Points of Primitive Christianity maintained and defended.’ London, 1714, 2nd Edit. Vol. II. Serm. xiii. p. 553.

christianity. The liturgies^a of every thing that bore the christian name to the 5th century and of every thing that still bears it, excepting only yourselves, trace them in characters so bold and legible that I cannot conceive how any man of sense, who is solicitous for his salvation, after having once read them, should not immediately abandon every communion, in which these dogmas are rejected, that he might unite himself to the faith of the primitive Church, become associated to her sacred liturgy, and join with her in adoring Jesus Christ present under the sacred species in the august and adorable mystery of the Eucharist.

^a There is not one of these ancient liturgies which, together with the *oblation* and *sacrifice*, does not also mark out, and often in the same phrase, the *change of substance* and the *adoration*. Bishop Bull must have been aware of this: yet he passes it over in silence. From the uniformity of the liturgies, he infers with good reason the apostolic doctrine of the *oblation* and *sacrifice*: but he refrains from drawing the same inference respecting the change of substance and the adoration! He loudly proclaims the apostolicity of the former, while he conceals that of the latter! What ties his tongue and checks his manly progress towards truth? Deplorable weakness of human nature? The acknowledgment of the whole truth would have exposed him to sacrifices, which he had not the courage to make.

APPENDIX.

Particular Belief of the Principal Churches respecting the Apostolicity Churches of their Liturgies.

It will be but just and proper to commence by the eminent and primitive Church, in which all the others unite as in their centre. See, then, in what manner the Sovereign Pontiffs have spoken of their Liturgy: 'Who does not know that what has been left to the Church of Rome by Peter, and is practised to the present day, ought to be observed by all: that no one can add to it, or introduce any thing into it without authority, or from any other source; it being manifest above all things that, throughout all Italy, in Gaul, Spain, Africa and Sicily, no Church has ever been established, but by those, to whom the venerable apostle Peter or his successors had confided the priestly administration of it?' (a)

Gelasius, who occupied the holy see from 492 to 496, has left us a sacramentary bearing his name, which is the most ancient of any that have come to us in the Roman Liturgy. He has arranged the prayers handed down to him by tradition, and has also introduced some prayers and prefaces of his own. Following the opinion of the learned, we must consider the sacramentary of Gelasius as a collection of what was read at mass in the Church of Rome from the time of the Apostles, and of some few additional prayers, which this saint thought adviseable to introduce.

From Rome the Churches of Spain received the Liturgy, as we learn from Innocent I. just quoted, and also ac-

(a) Innocent I. to Decentius, an. 416.

cording to the tradition among the Spaniards, of which Isidore, the celebrated and learned bishop of Seville, assures us in the following most positive terms: 'The order of the mass, together with the prayers by which the gifts offered to God are consecrated, was first instituted by St. Peter.'^(a) We may add, that he did it at the instigation of St. Paul; for Saint Clement, successor of Saint Peter, says in his letter to the Corinthians, that the apostle, after having instructed the East, announced the Gospel to the extremities of the West, which will apply to Spain. We know, further, from St. Paul himself, that he projected this apostolic course. 'When I shall begin to take my journey into Spain' wrote he to the Romans^(b), 'I hope that as I shall pass, I shall see you,' And a little afterwards: 'I will come by you into Spain.' It appears also that after this voyage St. Peter and St. Paul sent from Rome seven bishops into Spain, who extended the faith in that vast idolatrous country, and there also sealed it with their blood, after having founded many Churches and established the public worship and divine service according to the liturgy of St. Peter. (c)

Pope Vigilius (d) sent the order of the Roman mass to Profatanus, bishop of Brague, that he might see how it was drawn up. The council of Brague in 563 adopted it for all Spain. Now, in the letter of Pope Vigilius, the canon is called by excellence the *canonical prayer*: we there learn that it comes down, traditionally from the apostles, *quem ex traditione apostolica suscepimus*; that it was straight forward in every mass and that there were not different canons for different feasts, *sed semper eodem tenore oblata Deo munera consecramus*: that there were merely some additions made on certain solemn festivals by way of commemorating them. This testimony confirms what has been already mentioned, that, according to the Roman tradition, the canon, that is, the essential part of the liturgy, came from the apostles.

The liturgy, that Pepin and Charlemagne caused to be put aside for the Roman rite, was undoubtedly brought from the East into Gaul. We come to this decision from its close resemblance to the oriental liturgies. It appears that St. Paul, on his way from Rome to Spain, passed through Gaul and left bishops there, Crescentius at Vienne, Paul at Narbonne, Trophimus in Arles. Pothinus, first

(a) On the Church office, B. I. ch. xv. an. 601.—(b) Ch. xv. v. 24 and 28.—(c) Letter of Pope Gregory VII. to the kings Sanchio and Alphonsus.—(d) Vigilius, elected Pope in 538.

bishop of Lyons, where he suffered martyrdom when upwards of ninety, was a disciple of St. Polycarp: Irenæus, his successor, came also from Smyrna, where he had been brought up by the same apostolic man. The letter of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons to those of Asia and Phrygia clearly shews the relation existing between christian Gaul and the East. This should suffice to shew the origin of the Gallic liturgy and its apostolical institution, because it was indubitably practised and taught by its first bishops. It is indeed probable that the apostles of Gaul went to Rome, and there received authority from Saint Peter or his successors. But this sanction of the Holy See did not prevent them from forming the liturgy according to the usage of the Eastern Churches, to which the Church of Rome made no resistance, since their liturgies differed in nothing essential from her own. We know that when St. Polycarp was at Rome, Pope Anicetus allowed him the honor of celebrating the sacred mysteries in his Church.

Hilduin, abbé of Saint Denis, in his preface on the Areopagitics, addressed to Louis le Debonnaire shortly after the death of Charlemagne in 814, speaks of some missals of the highest antiquity, and 'almost consumed' with age, which contained the order of the mass according to the Gallican rite, such as was received with the 'faith in this western country, and always used, until the 'Roman' rite, now in use, was adopted.' They were, therefore, persuaded that the Gallic liturgy was as ancient as the faith, and that both were derived from the same source—the apostles and apostolic men.

The Greek and Syriac liturgy of Jerusalem is incontestably traced to St. James, first bishop of that first Church, where the apostles celebrated the mysteries together before their dispersion, and where St. James continued to celebrate them during the remainder of his episcopacy. The fathers of the general council in Trullo, in 692, cited it as coming certainly from the same apostle, and made use of it to refute the error of the Armenians, who at that time merely put wine in the chalice without water. It will be readily perceived how it may indifferently be called the liturgy of St. James or of Jerusalem. The Greeks and the Syrians of that town and the neighbouring countries have always regarded it as transmitted by St. James. They wrote it at first in Greek for their use, because that language was generally spoken in the great towns of the East in the fourth and fifth centuries, at which periods the liturgies began to be committed to

writing. It the Greek it bears the name of St. James, as well as in the Syriac version afterwards made from it.

Firmilian, when at Jerusalem towards the commencement of the third century, observed some difference between the office there celebrated and the Roman office. He observes (a) to St. Cyprian that the ceremonies at Jerusalem are exactly the same as those at Rome. He merely takes notice of the difference in the ceremonies; which supposes that in essentials he discovered no difference whatever.

In the judgment of skilful critics, the liturgy which St. Cyril of Jerusalem explained to the newly baptised is exactly the same as that known under the name of St. James. We see nevertheless that since the apostles' time and even since the time of St. Cyril, it has undergone some change in the ceremonies and in the collects or prayers, some being lengthened and others shortened: a change very common to books in common use, and which circumstances failed not to occasion, even after they had been committed to writing. It is also very manifest, that, not having been, like the other liturgies, written till the fifth century, there was added to the name of Jesus Christ the word *consubstantial*, and to that of the Blessed Virgin the title of Mother of God, defined at Ephesus. This proves, indeed, that it was not written before these general councils, since it was not cited by them as a proof; but it would hardly be the part of a judicious critic to conclude from this circumstance, that it did not exist before these additions, which were commanded by posterior decrees of the Church.

For more than eleven centuries has the Church of Constantinople made use of two liturgies, one under the name of St. John Chrysostom, the other under that of St. Basil. Neither one nor other of these two bishops was the author of these liturgies. The eloquent patriarch did not receive the glorious title of Chrysostom, till three centuries after his death. Before him, in his time, and long afterwards, the liturgy, which has since gone by his name, bore the name of the apostles. For the purpose of distinguishing it from so many others equally coming from the apostles, and to follow the custom which had been introduced in other parts, they gave it without doubt the name of this great patriarch. At the conclusion of the sixth century it had not as yet received his name. Our voucher for this is Leontius, a lawyer of Byzantium, who reproaches Nestorius in the following strain: 'Another crime yet, which yields in no respect to the preceding one: he had

'the audacity, without regard to the liturgy of the apostles and to that of St. Basil, written in the same spirit, to model a new form of mass different from that which our fathers had transmitted to the Churches. In this his new mass he covered the mysteries of the Eucharist with blasphemies rather than with prayers.'(a)

As to St. Basil, we know from St. Gregory Nazianzen, that he had composed prayers for the altar: and St. Basil himself, in his letter to the clergy of Neocesarea, speaks of those which he had made for the mass: he had intended them for his monastery: they accorded with those which were said in the Churches, merely with the addition of certain prayers to the canon without changing or removing any part of it: they were much admired in the East: various Churches accommodated them to the order of their liturgies, each after its own manner.

The Church of Alexandria was founded by St. Mark: we cannot doubt that this evangelist gave to his Church the order of the liturgy, which was followed by his successors and by the bishops under their jurisdiction. Cyril, who lived till 444, was occupier of the patriarchal see about the time when the liturgies were committed to writing, that is, about the council of Ephesus, in 431. It was at first written in Greek, which was spoken in Alexandria, in Coptic for the provinces, then, in the seventh age in Arabic, after the conquest of Egypt by Mahomet. Cyril had, after the example of many saints, composed prayers for the altar: (b) the splendour he had thrown upon the Church caused his name to be put to the liturgy which was written, but this did not destroy the remembrance of its first apostolical origin. The ancient coptic authors declare that the liturgy of St. Mark was augmented by Cyril, *liturgia Marci quam perfecit Cyrillus*.

Fruementius and one of his cousins, both very young, were led into Ethiopia by a merchant of their parents, who had also entrusted to him the education of their children. The barbarians, having massacred the merchant and his crew, found the two children studying under a tree, and preparing their lessons: they were moved with compassion and led them to the king, who, charmed with their appearance and compassionating their situation, kindly took them into his protection, and eventually made Fruementius his treasurer and secretary of state, and the other his cup-bearer. The king dying some years afterwards,

(a) Leontius against Nestorius and Eutyches.—(e) *Cat. de liturg. orient.* t. I. 171. Renaudot. t. I. p. 94.

Frumentius divided the affairs of the regency with the queen dowager, during the minority of her son. He employed his credit and influence in favour of the christian merchants who landed on those coasts. Obtaining, at last, from the young king permission to return with his relation to Tyre, his native country, he passed through Alexandria, (a) of which Athanasius had just been elected the patriarch, made known to him the state of the christians in Ethiopia, and the happy dispositions manifested by the barbarians towards Christianity, and besought him to send them a bishop. Athanasius, after duly considering the matter, decided upon sending them Frumentius himself. From being a laic, he was accordingly made bishop of all that country, where his preaching was crowned with wonderful success. (b)

Who can doubt that, upon dismissing him for a distant country, Athanasius would provide him with what was necessary for the ministry and public worship, such as a copy of the Scriptures and of the liturgy, to supply the defect of his memory, till then unpractised in the administration of the sacraments, and that after his death, leaving it to his Church, his successor might find it written at length? What very much strengthens this more than probable conjecture is, that M. de Ludolf has by his translation made us acquainted with an Ethiopian liturgy, in which there is mention made of 318 fathers of Nice only, to whom Athanasius was so much devoted.

Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople, condemned and deposed in the general council of Ephesus in 431, for teaching that there were two persons in Christ, and consequently denying the union of the Word with the human nature, and the divine maternity of the B. Virgin, found many adherents in Syria, where these notions had long been in embryo, since Paul of Samosata. The Nestorians carried their errors with christianity into the kingdoms of the Assyrians and Persians, from thence into the Indies, and even in the seventh age, as far as China, as has been discovered from an inscription found in 1625 in the town of Sigam-Fu, capital of the province of Xinsi, which inscription has been considered as authentic by the most learned antiquaries. It was engraved on a stone of twenty-nine columns, in Chinese characters, with some Syriac lines, and dated the year of the era of the Greeks or Sileucidæ, 1092, which corresponds with the year 780 or 781 of our era. From it we learn that the Gospel was preached in China by priests who came from Syria in the year 936. You

(a) In 326.—(b) Rufinus, *Hist.*

may consult on this singularly curious monument father Kircher, in his *China Illustrata*, and the liturgies of Pere Lebrun, t. III. p. 374

Now, the Nestorians have three liturgies, written in the Syriac language, the first entitled of the apostles, the second of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the third of the Nestorians. The learned abbé Renaudot who has translated them, observes that the first is the ancient liturgy of the Churches of Syria before Nestorius: the second was to be the liturgy of the Church of Mopsuestia, in Cilicia, of which Theodore, the friend and master of Nestorius, was bishop: the third was to be the liturgy of Constantinople, which Nestorius had followed in it, but into which he insinuated his errors. The analogy and conformity of the words of institution between the liturgy of Constantinople and that of the Nestorians sufficiently proves that they were originally the same. We do not discover the error of the Nestorians in the two former.

According to the tradition of Lesser Armenia, the faith was announced to their ancestors by SS. Thadeus and Bartholomew. We know that at the commencement of the third century there was found there a great number of christians: the attachment of the Armenians to their religion determined the emperor Maximinus, who renewed the persecutions in 235, to declare war upon them, although they were friendly to the Romans. In the following persecutions of Decius and Diocletian they had many martyrs.

Greater Armenia was converted at the commencement of the fourth age by St. Gregory the Illuminator, himself an Armenian, educated at Cæsarea and ordained bishop by Leontius, who assisted at the council of Nice, and was succeeded in his see by St. Basil. 'Shall the Church no longer exist in the two Armenias, because you are not there?' said Optatus of Milevum to the Donatists. And Rufinus, the translator of Eusebius, after relating what we have said of Maximinus, adds in a parenthesis, that *all Armenia is entirely devoted to religion*. St. Basil continued, after the example of his predecessor, to extend his solicitude to these countries, and to send them bishops. St. Chrysostom was sent thither into exile, and there finished his holy and glorious career.

It was therefore from Cæsarea that Greater Armenia received its liturgies, and also the beautiful prayers which St. Basil had composed. It added some prayers of St. Athanasius, and of St. Chrysostom, whose memory it held in honor. It wrote its liturgy like the other Churches, about the middle of the fifth age, and followed it in its primitive

purity till the middle of the sixth: but then it permitted itself to be led into schism and hatred against the council of Chalcedon rather than into the error of Eutyches, by James the Syrian, bishop of Edessa.^(a) The Armenians inserted in their liturgy the Eutychean addition, *who was crucified*, &c. to the *trisagion*, or *thrice holy*, as Nicephorus relates. This reproach, and that of not mixing water in the chalice, are the only ones ever made by the Church to their liturgy, which incontestably had its origin before the schism, and must have been brought to them by their apostle Gregory.

(a) Photius' Letter to the Patriarch of the Armenians.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.



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